THE

# HISTORY OF INDIA.

BY

THE HONOURABLE

MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.

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# THE FIRST VOLUME.

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# PREFACE.

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THE appearance of a new history of India requires some words of explanation.

If the ingenious, original, and elaborate work of Mr. Mill left some room for doubt and discussion, the able compositions since published by Mr. Murray and Mr. Gleig may be supposed to have fully satisfied the demands of every reader.

But the excellence of histories derived from European researches alone does not entirely set aside the utility of similar inquiries conducted under the guidance of impressions received in India; which, as they rise from a separate source, may sometimes lead to different conclusions.

Few are likely to take up these volumes unless they are previously interested in the subject, and such persons may not be unwilling to examine it from a fresh point of view: if the result suggests no new opinions, it may at least assist in deciding on those contested by former writers.

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In the choice of difficulties presented by the expression of Asiatic words in European letters, I have thought it best to follow the system of Sir W. Jones, which is used by all the English Asiatic Societies, as well as by Mr. Cole-

brooke, Professor Wilson, and various other writers. But as I do not, in general, attempt to express the aspirates, gutturals, or other sounds which are peculiar to Asiatic languages, I have not found it necessary to copy all the minutiæ of Sir W. Jones's orthography, or to distinguish particular consonants (as *k* and *c*), which, in his system, would represent very different sounds.

The following list will explain the powers given to each letter: —

A′ as in far, father.

A as *u* in sun, study; *o* in son, version; and *a* itself in unaccented syllables, as in collar, Persian.

E′ as in there; or as *a* in dare.

E sometimes as in bell, then; but much more frequently the indistinct sound of *e* in her, murderer, &c.

I′ as in machine, or as *ee* in deer.

I as in hit, imminent.

O′ as in holy, alone.

O as in obey, symphony. It is the *ó* shortened (the other short *o*, as in hot, moss, is not known in Asiatic languages).

U′ as in rude, true; or as the double *o* in pool, foolish.

U the same sound short, as in pull, fuller.

Y as in young, year.

W as in war, will.

Ei as in height; or as *i* in bite.

Eu as in Europe, feud.

Oi as in boil, joiner.

Ou as in house, sound.

The consonants are the same as in English: except that *g* is always hard, as in God, give; *ch* always as in church (not as in Christian, anchor); *s* always as in case, solstice (not like *z*, as in phrase); and *t* always as in tin, Latin (not like *sh*, as in nation).

In well-known words, I have retained the usual spelling; as in Delhi (for Dilli or Dihli); Bombay (for Mumbái); Mysore (for Mahéswar or Máisúr). Where the corrupt names are only applied to particular persons and places, I have limited them in that manner. The famous rivers Indus and Ganges are so called; while others, bearing the same Indian names, are written Sind and Ganga: the Arabian prophet is Mahomet, but all others of the same Arabic name are Mohammed: Tamerlane is used in speaking of the Tartar conqueror, but Teimur on all other occasions.

There are other irregularities: gutturals and aspirates are sometimes used; and double consonants are put in some cases where the sound is single, as the double *t* in Attoc, which is pronounced as in matter; while in general double consonants are sounded separately, as in book-keeping, hop-pole, or drum-maker. In names with which I am not myself acquainted, I am obliged to take the spelling of the author by whom they are mentioned.

# HISTORY

OF

# INDIA.

## INTRODUCTION.

INTROD.

INDIA is bounded by the Hémaláya mountains, the river Indus, and the sea.

Bound-aries and extent of India.

Its length from Cashmír to Cape Comorin is about 1900 British miles; and its breadth from the mouth of the Indus to the mountains east of the Baramputra considerably upwards of 1500 British miles.

Natural divisions.

It is crossed from east to west by a chain of mountains, called those of Vindya, which extends between the twenty-third and twenty-fifth parallels of latitude, nearly from the desert north-west of Guzerát, to the Ganges.

Hindostan and the Deckan.

The country to the north of this chain is now called Hindostan, and that to the south of it, the Deckan.*

* The Mogul emperors fixed the Nerbadda for the limit of their provinces in those two great divisions, but the division *of the nations* is made by the Vindya mountains. It is well remarked by Sir W. Jones and Major Rennell, that both banks of rivers in Asia are generally inhabited by the same community.

INTROD.

Natural divisions of Hindostan.

Hindostan is composed of the basin of the Indus, that of the Ganges, the desert towards the Indus, and the high tract recently called Central India.

The upper part of the basin of the Indus (now called the Panjáb) is open and fertile to the east of the Hydaspes, but rugged to the west of that river, and sandy towards the junction of the five rivers. After the Indus forms one stream, it flows through a plain between mountains and the desert, of which only the part within reach of its waters is productive. As it approaches the sea, it divides into several branches, and forms a fertile though ill-cultivated delta.

The basin of the Ganges (though many of the streams which water it have their rise in hilly countries, and though the central part is not free from diversity of surface) may be said on the whole to be one vast and fertile plain. This tract was the residence of the people who first figure in the history of India; and it is still the most advanced in civilisation of all the divisions of that country.

A chain of hills, known in the neighbourhood by the name of Aravalli, is connected by lower ranges with the western extremity of the Vindya

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The rule applies to Europe, and is as true of the Rhine or the Po as of the Ganges and the Nile. Rivers are precise and convenient limits for artificial divisions, but they are no great obstacles to communication; and, to form a natural separation between nations, requires the real obstructions of a mountain chain.

mountains on the borders of Guzerát, and stretches up to a considerable distance beyond Ajmír, in the direction of Delhi; forming the division between the desert on the west and the central table land. It would be more correct to say *the level* of the desert; for the south-eastern portion, including Jódpúr, is a fertile country. Except this tract, all between the Aravalli mountains and the Indus, from the Satlaj or Hysudrus on the north to near the sea on the south, is a waste of sand, in which are oases of different size and fertility, the greatest of which is round Jéssalmír. The narrow tract of Cach intervenes between the desert and the sea, and makes a sort of bridge from Guzerát to Sind. Central India is the smallest of these four natural divisions. It is a table land of uneven surface, from 1500 to 2500 feet above the sea, bounded by the Aravalli mountains on the west, and those of Vindya on the south; supported on the east by a lower range in Bundelcand, and sloping gradually on the north-east into the basin of the Ganges. It is a diversified but fertile tract. INTROD.

Natural divisions of the Deckan.

The Vindya mountains form the southern limit of Hindostan; but beyond them, separated by the deep valley of the Nerbadda, is a parallel chain called Injádri or Sátpúra, which must be crossed before we reach the next natural division in the valley of the Tapti. This small tract is low; but the rest of the Deckan is almost entirely occupied by a table land of triangular form, about the level of that of Central India, supported on all sides by

INTROD. ranges of hills. The two longest ranges, which run towards the south, follow the form of the peninsula, and between them and the sea lies a low narrow tract, forming a sort of belt round the whole coast. The hills which support the table land are called the Ghâts. The range to the west is the highest and most marked; and the low tract beneath it narrowest and most rugged.

The table land itself is greatly diversified in surface and fertility. Two parts, however, are strongly distinguished, and the limit between them may be marked by the Warda, from its source in the Injádri range, north-west of Nágpúr, to its junction with the Godáveri, and then by the joint rivers to the sea. All to the north and east of these rivers is a vast forest, spotted with villages, and sometimes interrupted by cultivated tracts of considerable extent. To the south-west of the rivers, the country, though varied, is generally open and cultivated.

Guzerát and Bengal are regarded by the natives as neither included in Hindostan nor the Deckan; they differ greatly from each other, but each has a resemblance to the part of Hindostan which adjoins to it.

Though the Deckan, properly speaking, includes all to the south of the Vindya mountains, yet, in modern practice, it is often limited to the part between that chain and the river Kishna.

Superficial measurement and

The superficial extent of India is estimated at 1,287,483 square miles. The population may be

Population of India.

taken at 140,000,000; but this is the *present* population; in very early Hindú times it was certainly much less, and in later days probably much greater.*

* These estimates cannot pretend to accuracy. Hamilton (*Description of Hindostan*, vol. i. page 37.) conjectured the number of square miles to be 1,280,000, and the population 134,000,000.

An official Report laid before the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs, October 11. 1831, will (if certain blanks be filled up) make the extent in square miles 1,287,483, and the population 140,722,700. The following are the particulars: —

| | Square Miles. | Population. |
|---|---|---|
| Bengal Lower provinces - - | 153,802 | 37,500,000 |
| Bengal Upper provinces - - | 66,510 | 32,200,000 |
| Bengal cessions from Berár - | 85,700 | (1.) 3,200,000 |
| Total Bengal - - | 306,012 | 72,900,000 |
| Madras - - - - | 141,923 | 13,500,000 |
| Bombay - - - - | 64,938 | (2.) 6,800,000 |
| Total British possessions - | 512,873 | 93,200,000 |
| Allied States - - - | 614,610 | (3.) 43,022,700 |
| Ranjít Sing possessions in the Panjáb - - - | (4.) 60,000 | 3,500,000 |
| Sind - - - - | 100,000 | 1,000,000 |
| Total of all India - | 1,287,483 | 140,722,700 |

The superficial extent of the British territories and those of the allies is given in the above Report; the former from actual survey, and the latter partly from survey and partly from computation.

The population of the British territories is also from the Report, and is founded on official estimates, except in the following instances, where I computed the numbers.

(1.) The cessions from Berár amount to near 86,000 square miles; of these, 30,000 on the Nerbadda are comparatively well

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The population is very unequally distributed. In one very extensive district of Bengal Proper (Bardwán), it was ascertained to be 600 souls to the square mile.* In some forest tracts, ten to the square mile might be an exaggeration.

Though the number of large towns and cities

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peopled; and I have allowed them sixty souls to the square mile. The remaining 56,000 are so full of forests, that I have only allowed twenty-five souls to the square mile.

(2.) For one district, under Bombay (the Northern Concan), the extent is given from survey, but without a guess at the population. I have allowed the same rate as that of the adjoining district (the Southern Concan), which is 100 to the square mile. It is probably too much, but the amount is so small as to make the error immaterial.

(3.) No estimate is given of the population of the allied states, some parts of which have 300 or 400 the square mile, while others are nearly deserts. On consideration, I allow seventy souls to the square mile, which makes the population 43,022,700.

(4.) The area and population of Sind, and the *population* of the Panjáb, are taken from *Burnes's Travels*, vol. ii. p. 286. and vol. iii. p. 227. The *extent* of the Panjáb is little more than a guess, which I have hazarded, rather than leave the statement incomplete.

The extent of Europe is about 2,793,000 square miles, and the population 227,700,000. ("Companion to the Almanack for 1829," from Walkenaer and Balbi.) If we deduct the 1,758,700 square miles in Russia, Sweden, and Norway, as proposed by Major Rennell, for the sake of comparison, we find the rest of Europe containing 1,035,300 square miles, and India 1,294,602, being nearly a third greater than Europe. But Europe, when freed from the northern wastes, has the advantage in population; for, after deducting Russia, Sweden, and Norway, about 60,518,000 souls, Europe has still 167,182,000 souls, and India only 140,000,000.

* Mr. Bayley, *Asiatic Researches*, xii. 549.

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in India is remarkable, none of them are very populous. In their present state of decline, none exceed the population of second-rate cities in Europe. Calcutta, without its suburbs, has only 265,000 inhabitants; and not more than two or three of the others can have above 200,000 fixed population.*

Climate and seasons.

A tract, extending from 8° north latitude to 35°, and varying in height from the level of the sea to the summits of Hémaláya, must naturally include the extremes of heat and cold; but on the general level of India within the great northern chain, the diversity is comparatively inconsiderable.

The characteristic of the climate, compared to that of Europe, is heat. In a great part of the country the sun is scorching for three months in the year †; even the wind is hot, the land is brown and parched, dust flies in whirlwinds, all brooks become dry, small rivers scarcely keep up a stream, and the largest are reduced to comparatively narrow channels in the midst of vast sandy beds.

In winter, slight frost sometimes takes place for an hour or two about sunrise; but this is only in the parts of the country which lie far north, or are much elevated above the sea. At a low level, if to-

* For Calcutta, see the Report of the House of Commons, October 11. 1831. For Benares, see *Asiatic Researches*, xvii. 474. 479., where it is stated that 200,000 constitutes the fixed population of the city and suburbs, and that 100,000 more may come in on the greatest occasions of pilgrimage.

† The thermometer often rises above 100° during part of the hottest days. It has been known to reach 120°.

INTROD. wards the south, the greatest cold in winter is only moderate heat; and on an average of the whole of India, it is not much more than what is marked *temperate* on our thermometers; while the hottest time of the day, even at that period, rises above our *summer heat*. The cold, however, is much greater to the feelings than would be supposed from the thermometer.

In the months which approach to neither extreme, the temperature is higher than in the heat of summer in Italy.

The next peculiarity in the climate of India is the periodical rainy season. The rains are brought from the Indian Ocean by a south-west wind, (or monsoon, as it is called,) which lasts from June to October. They are heaviest near the sea, especially in low countries, unless in situations protected by mountains. The coast of Coromandel, for instance, is sheltered from the south-west monsoon by the Ghâts and the table land, and receives its supply of rain in October and November, when the wind blows from the north-east across the Bay of Bengal. The intenseness of the fall of rain can scarcely be conceived in Europe. Though it is confined to four months, and in them many days of every month, and many hours of every day, are fair, yet the whole fall of rain in India is considerably more than double that which is distributed over the whole twelve months in England.

The variations that have been mentioned divide the year into three seasons: the hot, the rainy, and

the cold, or rather temperate; which last is a good deal longer than either of the other two. INTROD.

Natural productions.

The fertile soil and rich productions of India have long been proverbial.

Trees.

Its forests contain many timber trees, among which the teak is, for ship building, and most other purposes, at least equal to the oak. The sál is a lofty and useful timber tree: sandal, ebony, and other rare and beautiful woods are found in different quantities, but often in profusion. Banyan trees, cotton trees *, sissoo (or blackwood trees), mangoes, tamarinds, and other ornamental and useful trees are scattered over the cultivated country. The bábul, (Mimosa Arabica, or gum arabic tree,) with its sweet-scented yellow flower, grows in profusion, both in the woods and plains, as do two kinds of acacia and various other flowering trees. Mulberries are planted in great numbers, and are the means of furnishing a large supply of silk. The cocoa, palmyra, and other palms are common. The first of these yields a nut filled with a milky fluid, and lined with a thick coating of kernel, which is serviceable as food, and on account of the oil which is manufactured from it to a vast extent. The shell is used for cups and other vessels, some of which are in universal use. The thick husk, in which the nut is enveloped, is composed

* This is not the low shrub which bears common cotton, but a lofty tree covered at one time with flowers of glowing crimson, and at another with pods, in which the seeds are encased in a substance resembling cotton, but lighter and more silky in its texture.

INTROD. of fibres, which form a valuable cordage, and make the best sort of cable. The wood, though not capable of being employed in carpenter's work, is peculiarly adapted to pipes for conveying water, beams for broad but light wooden bridges, and other purposes, where length is more required than solidity. The bamboo, being hollow, light, and strong, is almost as generally useful: when entire, the varieties in its size make it equally fit for the lance of the soldier, the pole of his tent, or the mast which sustains the lofty ensign of his chief; for the ordinary staff of the peasant, or for the rafter of his cottage. All scaffolding in India is composed of bamboos, kept together by ropes instead of nails. When split, its long and flexible fibre adapts it to baskets, mats, and innumerable other purposes; and when cut across at the joints, it forms a bottle often used for oil, milk, and spirits.

The wood of the palm is employed in the same manner as that of the cocoa tree: its leaves also are used for the thatch, and even for the walls, of cottages; while the sap, which it yields on incision (as well as that of the bastard date tree), supplies a great proportion of the spirituous liquor consumed in India.

The mahua (a timber tree of the size of an oak, which abounds in all the forests,) produces a fleshy flower, from which also a great deal of spirit is distilled; while it is still more important as an article of food among the hill tribes. To return to the palms, another beautiful specimen bears a nut,

which, mixed with the pungent and aromatic leaf of the bítel vine, and the gum called catechu, is chewed by all classes throughout India. Sago is the produce of another kind of palm. INTROD.

The mountains of Hémaláya present a totally different vegetation. Pines, oaks, and other forest trees of Europe and Asia, rhododendrons, and many other magnificent shrubs, abound throughout the chain, often on a gigantic scale.

Spices, &c.

Pepper and cardamums grow in abundance on the western coast, and cinnamon on Ceylon: capsicum, ginger, cummin, coriander, turmeric, and various other spices are every where a common produce of the fields. We are indebted to India for many well-known aromatics, and the wildest hills are covered with a highly scented grass, the essential oil of which is supposed by some to have been the spikenard of the ancients. Many trees supply medicines — as camphor, cassia fistularis, aloes, &c.; others yield useful resins, gums, and varnishes.

The woods are filled with trees and creepers, bearing flowers of every form and hue; while the oleander, gloriosa superba, and many other beautiful shrubs, grow wild in the open country. The lotus and water lily float on the surface of the lakes and ponds; and there are many sweet-scented flowers, the perfume of which, though otherwise exquisite, is in general too powerful for Europeans.

Agricultural produce.

Whole plains are covered with cotton, tobacco, and poppies for opium; even roses are grown, in

INTROD. some places, over fields of great extent, for attar and rose-water. Sugar-cane, though still more abundant, requires rich and well-watered spots, and is not spread over the face of the country like the productions just mentioned. Large tracts of land are given up to indigo, and many other more brilliant dyes are among the produce of the fields. Flax, mustard, sesamum, palma Christi, and other plants, yield an ample supply of oil, both for culinary and other purposes.

The principal food of the people of Hindostan is wheat, and in the Deckan, jowár and bájra*: rice, as a general article of subsistence, is confined to Bengal and part of Behár, with the low country along the sea all round the coast of the Peninsula: in most parts of India it is only used as a luxury.† In the southern part of the table land of the Deckan the body of the people live on a small and poor grain called rági.‡

Though these grains each afford the principal

* Jowár (Holcus sorgum). It grows on a reedy stem to the height of eight or ten feet, and bears irregularly shaped clusters of innumerable round grains, about twice as big as mustard seed. It is common all over the Levant, under the name of dúrra (or dourrah); and in Greece, where it is called kálambóki; there is likewise a coarse sort in Italy, called melica rossa, or sorgo rosso.

Bájra (Holcus spicatus) resembles a bulrush, the *head* being covered with a round grain, smaller, sweeter, and more nourishing than that of jowár.

† It was probably the circumstance of our early settlements in Bengal and on the coast of Coromandel that led to the common opinion that rice is the general food of India.

‡ Cynosurus corocanus.

supply to particular divisions, they are not confined to their own tracts. Bájra and jowár are almost as much consumed as wheat in Hindostan, and are grown, though in a less degree, in the rice countries: wheat is not uncommon in the Deckan, and is sown in the rice countries: rice is more or less raised all over India in favourable situations, as under hills, or where a great command of water is obtained by artificial means.

Barley is little eaten, and oats, till lately, were unknown; but there are several smaller sorts of grain, such as millet, panicum Italicum, and other kinds, for which we have no name. Maize is a good deal grown for the straw; and the heads, when young and tender, are toasted and eaten as a delicacy by the villagers; but I doubt if the grain is ever made into bread.

There are many kinds of pulse, of which there is a very great consumption by people of all ranks; and a variety of roots and vegetables *, which, with a large addition of the common spices, form the ordinary messes used by the poor to give a relish to their bread. Many fruits are accessible to the poor; especially mangoes, melons, and water melons, of which the two last are grown in the wide beds of the rivers during the dry weather. Gourds and cucumbers are most abundant. They are sown

* As the egg plant or brinjal, the love-apple or tomato, yams, sweet potatoes, carrots, radishes, onions, garlic, spinach, and many other sorts, wild and cultivated, known or unknown in Europe.

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round the huts of the poor, and trailed over the roofs, so that the whole building is covered with green leaves and large yellow flowers. The mango, which is the best of the Indian fruits, is likewise by much the most common, the tree which bears it being everywhere planted in orchards and singly, and thriving without any further care. Plantains or bananas, guavas, custard apples, jujubes, and other fruits of tropical climates, are also common.* Grapes are plentiful, as a garden fruit, but not planted for wine. Oranges, limes, and citrons are also in general use, and some sorts are excellent. Figs are not quite so general, but are to be had in most places, and in some (as at Púna, in the Deckan,) they are, perhaps, the best in the world. Pine apples are common everywhere, and grow wild in Pegu.†

Horses, camels, and working cattle are fed on pulse.‡ Their forage is chiefly wheat straw; and

* One of the most remarkable, and in some places the most common, is the jack, an exceedingly rich and luscious fruit, which grows to the weight of sixty or seventy pounds, directly from *the trunk* of a tall forest tree.

† Several Chinese fruits have lately been introduced with success, and some European ones, of which the peach and strawberry are the only kinds that are completely naturalised. The apples are small and bad; and pears, plums, &c. do not succeed at all.

‡ In Hindostan it is a sort called channa, of which each pod contains a single pea on a low plant, from the leaves of which the natives make vinegar. It is the Cicer arietinum of botanists, and exactly the Cece of Italy. In the Deckan the pulse used is cúlti, a small hard pea, which must be boiled before it is eaten, even by animals.

that of the jowár and bájra, which, being full of saccharine matter, is very nourishing. Horses get fresh grass dried in the sun; but it is only in particular places that hay is stacked.

There are, in some places, three harvests; in all, two. Bájra, jowár, rice, and some other grains are sown at the beginning of the rains, and reaped at the end. Wheat, barley, and some other sorts of grain and pulse ripen during the winter, and are cut in spring.

Animals.

Elephants, rhinoceroses, bears, and wild buffaloes are confined to the forests. Tigers, leopards, panthers, and some other wild beasts are found there also, but likewise inhabit patches of underwood, and even of high grain, in the cultivated lands. This is also the case with wild boars, hyenas, wolves, jackalls, and game of all descriptions, in the utmost abundance. Lions are only found in particular tracts. Great numbers of many sorts of deer and antelopes are met with in all parts. Monkeys are numerous in the woods, in the cultivated country, and even in towns. Porcupines, ichneumons, a species of armadillo, iguanas, and other lizards, are found in all places; as are serpents and other reptiles, noxious or innocent, in abundance.

There are horses in plenty, but they are only used for riding. For every sort of draught, (ploughs, carts, guns, native chariots, &c.,) and for carriage of all sorts of baggage and merchandise, almost the whole dependence is on oxen. The

INTROD. frequency of rugged passes in some parts, and the annual destruction of the roads by the rains in others, make the use of pack cattle much greater than that of draught cattle, and produce those innumerable droves which so often choke up the travellers' way, as they are transporting grain, salt, and other articles of commerce from one province to another.

Camels, which travel faster, and can carry more bulky loads, are much employed by the rich, and are numerous in armies. Elephants are also used, and are indispensable for carrying large tents, heavy carpets, and other articles which cannot be divided. Buffaloes are very numerous, but they are chiefly kept for milk, of which great quantities (in various preparations) are consumed*: they are not unfrequently put in carts, are used for ploughing in deep and wet soils, and more rarely for carriage. Sheep are as common as in European countries, and goats more so. Swine are kept by the lowest casts; poultry are comparatively scarce, in small villages, from the prejudice of the Hindús against fowls; but the common fowl is found wild in great numbers, and resembles the bantam kind. The peacock, also, is common in a wild state. White cranes and egrettes are extremely numerous throughout the year; and grey cranes, wild geese,

* The commonest of these are clarified butter (ghí), and a sort of acid curd (dahí) which is called yourt in the Levant. Cheese is scarcely known, and butter never used in its natural state.

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snipes, ortolans, and other birds of passage, come in incredible numbers at their season. Eagles are found in some places, as are various kinds of falcons. Vultures are very common, and kites beyond number. Most English birds are common (except singing birds); besides parrots, or rather peroquets, and various birds of splendid plumage, for which we have not even names.

Fish is abundant, and is a great article of food in Bengal, and some other countries.

Crocodiles are often seen both in rivers and large ponds.

Minerals.

None of the minerals of India have attracted attention except diamonds and iron. The steel of India was in request with the ancients, and is celebrated in the oldest Persian poem, and is still the material of the scymitars of Khórasán and Damascus. The inferior stones — opals, amethysts, garnets, chrysolites, beryls, cornelians, agates, &c. — are found in considerable quantities. Most of the pearls in the world, and all the best, are taken up from beds near Ceylon. Rock salt is found in a range of mountains in the Panjáb; and salt is made in large quantities from the water of the Sámber Lake in Ajmír, and from that of the sea. Saltpetre is so abundant as to supply many other countries.

The conformation of the countries and the peculiarities of climate and seasons have great effect on military operations in India. The passes through the chains of hills that intersect the

INTROD. country regulate the direction of the roads, and often fix the fields of battle. Campaigns are generally suspended during the rains, and resumed at the end of that season, when grain and forage are abundant. The site of encampments is very greatly affected by the supply of water, which must be easy of access to the thousands of cattle which accompany every army, chiefly for carriage. One party is often able to force his enemy into action, by occupying the water at which he intended to halt. A failure of the periodical rains brings on all the horrors of famine.

# HINDÚS.

## BOOK I.

### STATE OF THE HINDÚS AT THE TIME OF MENU'S CODE.

BOOK I.

Preliminary Observations.

As the rudest nations are seldom destitute of some account of the transactions of their ancestors, it is a natural subject of surprise, that the Hindús should have attained to a high pitch of civilisation, without any work that at all approaches to the character of a history.*

The fragments which remain of the records of their transactions are so mixed with fable, and so distorted by a fictitious and extravagant system of Chronology, as to render it hopeless to deduce from them any continued thread of authentic narrative.

No *date* of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander; and no *connected* relation of the national transactions can be attempted until after the Mahometan conquest.

* The history of Cashmír scarcely forms an exception. Though it refers to earlier writings of the same nature, it was begun more than a century after the Mahometan conquest of Cashmír: even if it were ancient, it is the work of a small sequestered territory on the utmost borders of India, which, by the accounts contained in the history itself, seems to have been long liable to be affected by foreign manners; and the example seems never to have been followed by the rest of the Hindús.

But notwithstanding this remarkable failure in the annals of the early Hindús, there is no want of information regarding their laws, manners, and religion; which it would have been the most useful object of an account of their proceedings to teach: and if we can ascertain their condition at a remote period, and mark the changes that have since taken place, we shall lose very little of the essential part of their history.

A view of the religion of the Hindús is given, and some light is thrown on their attainments in science and philosophy, by the Védas, a collection of ancient hymns and prayers which are supposed to have been reduced to their present form in the fourteenth century before the Christian æra; but the first complete picture of the state of society is afforded by the Code of Laws which bears the name of Menu, and which was probably drawn up in the ninth century before Christ. *

With that Code, therefore, every history of the Hindús must begin.

But to gain accurate notions even of the people contemporary with the supposed Menu, we must remember that a code is never the work of a single age, some of the earliest and rudest laws being preserved, and incorporated with the improvements of the most enlightened times. To take a familiar example, there are many of the laws in Blackstone the existence of which proves a high state of refinement in the nation; but those relating to witch-

* See Appendix I. "On the Age of Menu."

craft, and the wager of battle, afford no correspondent proof of the continuance of barbarism down to the age in which the Commentaries were written.

Even if the whole Code referred to one period, it would not show the real state of manners. Its injunctions are drawn from the model to which it is wished to raise the community, and its prohibitions from the worst state of crime which it was possible to apprehend. It is to the general spirit of the Code, therefore, that we must look for that of the age; and even then, we must soften the features before we reach the actual condition of the people. I have adhered to the usual phraseology in speaking of this compilation; but, though early adopted as an unquestionable authority for the law, I should scarcely venture to regard it as a code drawn up for the regulation of a particular state under the sanction of a government. It seems rather to be the work of a learned man, designed to set forth his idea of a perfect commonwealth under Hindú institutions. On this supposition it would show the state of society as correctly as a legal code; since it is evident that it incorporates the existing laws, and any alterations it may have introduced, with a view to bring them up to its preconceived standard of perfection, must still have been drawn from the opinions which prevailed when it was written. These considerations being premised, I shall now give an outline of the information contained in Menu; and, afterwards, a de-

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scription of the Hindús as they are to be seen in present times.

The alterations effected during the interval will appear from a comparison of the two pictures; and a view of the nation at a particular point of the transition will be afforded from the accounts which have been left to us by the Greeks.

# CHAPTER I.

## DIVISION AND EMPLOYMENT OF CLASSES.

CHAP. I.

THE first feature that strikes us in the society described by Menu, is the division into four classes* or casts (the sacerdotal, the military, the industrious, and the servile). In these we are struck with the prodigious elevation and sanctity of the Bramins, and the studied degradation of the lowest class.

The three first classes, though by no means equal, are yet admitted into one pale: they all partake in certain sacred rites, to which peculiar importance is attached throughout the code; and they appear to form the whole community for whose government the laws are framed. The fourth class and the outcasts are no further considered than as they contribute to the advantage of the superior casts.

Bramins.

A Bramin is the chief of all created beings; the world and all in it are his: through him, indeed,

* The word *class* is adopted here, as being used in Sir W. Jones's translation of Menu; but *cast* is the term used in India, and by the old writers on that country. It is often written *caste* in late books, and has sometimes been mistaken for an Indian word; but it is an English word, found in Johnson's Dictionary, and derived from the Spanish or Portuguese — casta, a breed.

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other mortals enjoy life[a]; by his imprecations he could destroy a king, with his troops, elephants, horses, and cars[b]; could frame other worlds and regents of worlds, and could give being to new gods and new mortals.[c] A Bramin is to be treated with more respect than a king.[d] His life and person are protected by the severest laws in this world[e], and the most tremendous denunciations for the next.[f] He is exempt from capital punishment, even for the most enormous crimes.[g] His offences against other classes are treated with remarkable lenity[h], while all offences against him are punished with tenfold severity.[i]

Yet it would seem, at first sight, as if the Bramins, content with gratifying their spiritual pride, had no design to profit by worldly wealth or power. The life prescribed to them is one of laborious study, as well as of austerity and retirement.

The first quarter of a Bramin's life he must spend as a student[k]; during which time he leads a life of abstinence and humiliation. His attention should be unremittingly directed to the Védas, and should on no account be wasted on worldly studies. He should treat his preceptor with implicit obedience, and with humble respect and attachment, which

a Chap. I. 96. 100, 101. b Chap. IX. 313.
c Chap. IX. 315. d Chap. II. 139.
e Chap. IX. 232, and Chap. VIII. 281—283.
f Chap. XI. 205—208. Chap. IV. 165—169.
g Chap. VIII. 380. h Chap. VIII. 276. 378, 379.
i Chap. VIII. 272. 283. 325. 377. Chap. XI. 205, 206.
k Chap. II. 175—210.

ought to be extended to his family. He must perform various servile offices for his preceptor, and must labour for himself in bringing logs and other materials for sacrifice, and water for oblations. He must subsist entirely by begging from door to door.[1]

For the second quarter of his life, he lives with his wife and family, and discharges the ordinary duties of a Bramin. These are briefly stated to be, reading and teaching the Védas; sacrificing and assisting others to sacrifice; bestowing alms, and accepting gifts.

The most honourable of these employments is teaching.[m] It is remarkable that, unlike other religions, where the dignity of the priesthood is derived from their service at the temples, a Bramin is considered as degraded by performing acts of worship or assisting at sacrifices, as a profession.[n] All Bramins are strongly and repeatedly prohibited from receiving gifts from low-born, wicked, or unworthy persons.[o] They are not even to take many presents from unexceptionable givers, and are carefully to avoid making it a habit to accept of unnecessary presents.[p] When the regular sources fail, a Bramin

[1] These rules are now only observed by professed students — if by them.

[m] Chap. X. 75, 76. 85.

[n] Chap. III. 180. Chap. IV. 205. A feeling which still subsists in full force.

[o] Chap. IV. 84. Chap. X. 109, 110, 111. Chap. XI. 194 —197.

[p] Chap. IV. 186.

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may, for a mere subsistence, glean, or beg, or cultivate, or even (in case of extreme necessity) he may trade; but he must in no extremity enter into service; he must not have recourse to popular conversation, must abstain from music, singing, dancing, gaming, and generally from everything inconsistent with gravity and composure.[q]

He should, indeed, refrain from all sensual enjoyments, should avoid all wealth that may impede his reading the Védas[r], and should shun all worldly honour as he would shun poison.[s] Yet he is not to subject himself to fasts, or other needless severities.[t] All that is required is, that his life should be decorous and occupied in the prescribed studies and observances. Even his dress is laid down with minuteness; and he may easily be figured (much as learned Bramins are still) quiet and demure, clean and decent, "his hair and beard clipped, his passions subdued, his mantle white, and his body pure;" with a staff and a copy of the Védas in his hands, and bright golden rings in his ears.[u] When he has paid the three debts, by reading the scriptures, begetting a son, and performing the regular sacrifices, he may (even in the second portion of his life) make over all to his son, and remain in his family house, with no employment but that of an umpire.[v]

[q] Chap. IV. 63, 64.
[r] Chap. IV. 16, 17.
[s] Chap. II. 162.
[t] Chap. IV. 34.
[u] Chap IV. 35, 36.
[v] Chap. IV. 257.

The third portion of a Bramin's life he must spend as an anchorite in the woods. Clad in bark, or in the skin of a black antelope, with his hair and nails uncut, sleeping on the bare earth, he must live " without fire, without a mansion, wholly silent, feeding on roots and fruit." He must also submit to many and harsh mortifications, expose himself, naked, to the heaviest rains, wear humid garments in winter, and in summer stand in the midst of five fires under the burning sun.[w] He must carefully perform all sacrifices and oblations, and consider it his special duty to fulfil the prescribed forms and ceremonies of religion.

In the last period of his life, the Bramin is nearly as solitary and abstracted as during the third. But he is now released from all forms and external observances: his business is contemplation: his mortifications cease. His dress more nearly resembles that of ordinary Bramins; and his abstinence, though still great, is not so rigid as before. He is no longer to invite suffering, but is to cultivate equanimity and to enjoy delight in meditation on the Divinity; till, at last, he quits the body " as a bird leaves the branch of a tree at its pleasure."[y]

Thus it appears that, during three fourths of a Bramin's life, he was entirely secluded from the world, and, during the remaining fourth, besides having his time completely occupied by ceremonies

[w] Chap. VI. 1—29. [y] Chap. VI. 33. to the end.

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and in reading the Védas, he was expressly debarred from the enjoyment of wealth or pleasure and from the pursuit of ambition. But a little further acquaintance with the Code makes it evident that these rules are founded on a former condition of the Bramins; and that, although still regarded as the model for their conduct, they had already been encroached on by the temptations of power and riches.

The King must have a Bramin for his most confidential counsellor[z]; and by Bramins is he to be instructed in policy as well as in justice and all learning.[a] The whole judicial authority (except that exercised by the King in person) is in the hands of Bramins[b]; and, although the perusal of the sacred writings is not withheld from the two nearest classes, yet the sense of them is only to be obtained through the exposition of a Bramin.[c]

The interpretation of the laws is expressly confined to the Bramins[d]; and we can perceive, from the Code itself, how large a share of the work of legislation was in the hands of that order.

The property of the sacred class is as well protected by the law as its power. Liberality to Bramins is made incumbent on every virtuous man[e], and is the especial duty of a King.[f] Sacrifices and

[z] Chap. VII. 58.
[a] Chap. VII. 43.
[b] Chap. VIII. 1. 9, 10, 11, and 60.
[c] Chap. X. 1.
[d] Chap. XII. 108—113.
[e] Chap. XI. 1—6; Chap. IV. 226—235.
[f] Chap. VII. 83—86.

oblations, and all the ceremonies of religion, involve feasts and presents to the Bramins[g], and those gifts must always be liberal: "the organs of sense and action, reputation in this life, happiness in the next, life itself, children and cattle, are all destroyed by a sacrifice offered with trifling gifts to the priests."[h] Many penances may be commuted for large fines, which all go to the sacred class.[i] If a Bramin finds a treasure, he keeps it all; if it is found by another person, the King takes it, but must give one half to the Bramins.[k] On failure of heirs, the property of others escheats to the King; but that of Bramins is divided among their class.[l] A learned Bramin is exempt from all taxation, and ought, if in want, to be maintained by the King.[m]

Stealing the gold of Bramins incurs an extraordinary punishment, which is to be inflicted by the King in person, and is likely, in most cases, to be capital.[n] Their property is protected by many other denunciations; and for injuring their cattle, a man is to suffer amputation of half his foot.[o]

g Chap. III. 123—146., especially 138. and 143.

h Chap. XI. 39, 40. Priest is the word used by Sir W. Jones throughout his translation; but as it has been shown that few Bramins performed the public offices of religion, some other designation would have been more appropriate.

i Chap. XI. 117. 128—139.

k Chap. VIII. 37, 38.

l Chap. IX. 188, 189.

m Chap. VII. 133, 134.

n Chap. VIII. 314—316.; Chap. XI. 101.

o Chap. VIII. 325.

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Cshetriyas.

The military class, though far from being placed on an equality with the Bramins, is still treated with honour. It is indeed acknowledged that the sacerdotal order cannot prosper without the military, or the military without the sacerdotal; and that the prosperity of both in this world and the next depends on their cordial union.[p]

The military class enjoys, in a less degree, with respect to the Veisyas, the same inequality in criminal law that the Bramin possesses in respect to all the other classes.[q] The King belongs to this class, as probably do all his ordinary ministers.[r] The command of armies and of military divisions, in short, the whole military profession, and in strictness all situations of command, are also their birthright. It is indeed very observable, that even in the code drawn up by themselves, with the exception of interpreting the law, no interference in the executive government is ever allowed to Bramins.

The duties of the military class are stated to be, to defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read the Védas, and to shun the allurements of sensual gratification.[s]

Veisyas.

The rank of Veisyas is not high; for where a Bramin is enjoined to show hospitality to strangers, he is directed to show benevolence *even to a mer-*

[p] Chap. IX. 322.
[q] Chap. VIII. 267, 268.
[r] Chap. VII. 54.
[s] Chap. I. 89.

*chant*, and to give him food at the same time with his domestics.[t]

Besides largesses, sacrifice, and reading the Védas, the duties of a Veisya are to keep herds of cattle, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, and to cultivate the land.[u]

The practical knowledge required from a Veisya is more general than that of the other classes; for in addition to a knowledge of the means of breeding cattle, and a thorough acquaintance with all commodities and all soils, he must understand the productions and wants of other countries, the wages of servants, the various dialects of men, and whatever else belongs to purchase and sale.[v]

Súdras.

The duty of a Súdra is briefly stated to be to serve the other classes[w], but it is more particularly explained in different places that his chief duty is to serve the Bramins[y]; and it is specially permitted to him, in case of want of subsistence and inability to procure service from that class, to serve a Cshetriya; or, if even that service cannot be obtained, to attend on an opulent Veisya.[z] It is a general rule that, in times of distress, each of the classes may subsist by the occupations allotted to those beneath it, but must never encroach on the employments of those above it. A Súdra has no class beneath him; but, if other employments fail,

[t] Chap. III. 112.
[u] Chap. I. 90.
[v] Chap. IX. 329—332.
[w] Chap. I. 91.
[y] Chap. IX. 334.
[z] Chap. X. 121.

he may subsist by handicrafts, especially joinery and masonry, painting and writing.[a]

A Súdra may perform sacrifices with the omission of the holy texts[b]; yet it is an offence requiring expiation for a Bramin to assist him in sacrificing.[c] A Bramin must not read the Véda, even to himself, in the presence of a Súdra.[d] To teach him the law, or to instruct him in the mode of expiating sin, sinks a Bramin into the hell called Asamvrita.

It is even forbidden to give him temporal advice.[e] No offence is more repeatedly or more strongly inveighed against than that of a Bramin receiving a gift from a Súdra: it cannot even be expiated by penance, until the gift has been restored.[f] A Bramin, starving, may take dry grain from a Súdra, but must never eat meat cooked by him. A Súdra is to be fed by the leavings of his master, or by his refuse grain, and clad in his worn-out garments.[g]

He must amass no wealth, even if he has the power, lest he become proud, and give pain to Bramins.[h]

[a] Chap. X. 99, 100. I do not observe in Menu the permission which is stated to be somewhere expressly given to a Súdra to become a trader or a husbandman (Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 63.). Their employment in husbandry, however, is now so common, that most people conceive it to be the special business of the cast.

[b] Chap. X. 127, 128.

[c] Chap. X. 109, 110, 111; Chap. XI. 42, 43.

[d] Chap. IV. 99.

[e] Chap. IV. 80, 81.

[f] Chap. XI. 194,—197; Chap. X. 111.

[g] Chap. X. 125.

[h] Chap. X. 129.

If a Súdra use abusive language to one of a superior class, his tongue is to be slit.[i] If he sit on the same seat with a Bramin, he is to have a gash made on the part offending.[k] If he advise him about his religious duties, hot oil is to be dropped into his mouth and ears.[l]

These are specimens of the laws, equally ludicrous and inhuman, which are made in favour of the other classes against the Súdras.

The proper name of a Súdra is directed to be expressive of contempt[m], and the religious penance for killing him is the same as for killing a cat, a frog, a dog, a lizard, and various other animals.[n]

Yet, though the degraded state of a Súdra be sufficiently evident, his precise civil condition is by no means so clear. Súdras are universally termed the *servile* class; and, in one place, it is declared that a Súdra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude, "for," it is added, "of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested?"[o]

Yet every Súdra is not necessarily the slave of an individual; for it has been seen that they are allowed to offer their services to whom they please, and even to exercise trades on their own account: there is nothing to lead to a belief that they are the slaves of the state; and, indeed, the exemption

[i] Chap. VIII. 270.
[k] Chap. VIII. 281.
[l] Chap. VIII. 272.
[m] Chap. II. 31.
[n] Chap. XI. 131, 132.
[o] Chap. VIII. 414.

of Súdras from the laws against emigration[p], shows that no perfect right to their services was deemed to exist any where.

Their right to property (which was denied to slaves[q]) is admitted in many places[r]: their persons are protected, even against their master, who can only correct them in a manner fixed by law, and equally applicable to wives, children, pupils, and younger brothers.[s]

That there were some Súdra slaves is indisputable; but there is every reason to believe that men of the other classes were also liable to fall into servitude.

The condition of Súdras, therefore, was much better than that of the public slaves under some ancient republics, and, indeed, than that of the villains of the middle ages, or any other servile class with which we are acquainted.

Mixture of classes.

Though the line between the different classes was so strongly marked, the means taken to prevent their mixture do not seem to have been nearly so much attended to as in after times. The law in this respect seems rather dictated by jealousy of the honour of the women of the higher classes than by regard for the purity of descents.

Men of the three first classes are freely indulged in the choice of women from any inferior

p Chap. II. 24. q Chap. VIII. 416.
r For one instance, Chap. IX. 157.
s Chap. VIII. 299, 300.

cast[t], provided they do not give them the first place in their family.[u] But no marriage is permitted with women of a higher class: criminal intercourse with them is checked by the severest penalties[v]; and their offspring is degraded far below either of its parents.[w] The son of a Bramin, by a woman of the class next below him, takes a station intermediate between his father and mother[x]; and the daughters of such connections, if they go on marrying Bramins for seven generations, restore their progeny to the original purity of the sacerdotal class[y]; but the son of a Súdra by a Bramin woman is a Chandala, "the lowest of mortals[z]," and *his* intercourse with women of the higher classes produces "a race more foul than their begetter."[a]

The classes do not seem to have associated at their meals even in the time of Menu; and there is a striking contrast between the cordial festivity recommended to Bramins with their own class, and the constrained hospitality with which they are directed to prepare food *after the Bramins* for a military man coming as a guest.[b]

But there is no *prohibition* in the code against

[t] Chap. II. 238—240.; Chap. III. 13.
[u] Chap. III. 14—19.
[v] viii. 366. 374—377.
[w] Chap. X. 11—19.
[x] Chap. X. 6.
[y] Chap. X. 64.
[z] Chap. X. 12.
[a] Chap. X. 29, 30. All marriages with women of lower classes is now prohibited.
[b] Chap. III. 110—113.

eating with other classes, or partaking of food cooked by them (which is now the great occasion for loss of cast), except in the case of Súdras; and even then the offence is expiated by living on water gruel for seven days.[c]

Loss of cast seems, in general, to have been incurred by crimes, or by omitting the prescribed expiations for offences.

It is remarkable that, in the four classes, no place is assigned to artisans: Súdras, indeed, are permitted to practise mechanic trades during a scarcity of other employment, but it is not said to whom the employment regularly belongs. From some of the allotments mentioned in Chap. X., it would appear that the artisans were supplied, as they are now, from the mixed classes: a circumstance which affords ground for surmise that the division into casts took place while arts were in too simple a state to require separate workmen for each; and also that many generations had elapsed between that division and the Code, to allow so important a portion of the employments of the community to be filled by classes formed subsequently to the original distribution of the people.

[c] Chap. XI. 153.

## CHAP. II.

### GOVERNMENT.

CHAP. II.

The King.

The government of the society thus constituted was vested in an absolute monarch. The opening of the chapter on government employs the boldest poetical figures to display the irresistible power, the glory, and almost the divinity of a king.[a]

He was subject, indeed, to no legal control by human authority; and, although he is threatened with punishment in one place[b], and spoken of as subject to fine in another[c], yet no means are provided for enforcing those penalties, and neither the councils nor the military chiefs appear to have possessed any constitutional power but what they derived from his will. He must, however, have been subject to the laws promulgated in the name of the Divinity; and the influence of the Bramins, both with him and with his people, would afford a strong support to the injunctions of the Code.

Like other despots, also, he must have been kept within some bounds by the fear of mutiny and revolt.[d]

[a] Chap. VII. 1—13. [b] Chap. VII. 27—29.

[c] Chap. VIII. 336.

[d] In the "Toy Cart," a drama written about the commencement of our æra, the King is dethroned, for tyranny, by a cow-

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The object of the institution of a King is declared to be, to restrain violence and to punish evil-doers.

"Punishment wakes when guards are asleep."

"If a King were not to punish the guilty, the stronger would roast the weaker like fish on a spit."

"Ownership would remain with none; the lowest would overset the highest."[e]

The duties of a King are said generally to be, to act in his own domains with justice, chastise foreign foes with rigour, behave without duplicity to his friends, and with lenity to Bramins.[f]

He is respectfully to attend to the Bramins, and from them to learn lessons of modesty and composure; from them, also, he is to learn justice, policy, metaphysics, and theology. From the people he is to learn the theory of agriculture, commerce, and other practical arts.[g]

He is to withstand pleasure, restrain his angry passions, and resist sloth.

Administration of the government.

He is to appoint seven ministers, or rather counsellors, (who seem to be of the military class,) and to have one learned Bramin distinguished above them all, in whom he is to repose his full confidence. He is to appoint other officers also, among whom

herd; and in another drama, the "Uttara Ráma Charitra," the great monarch Ráma is compelled by the clamours of his people to banish his beloved queen. — See WILSON's *Hindú Theatre.*

[e] Chap. VII. 13—26. [f] Chap. VII. 32.

[g] Chap. VII. 43.

the most conspicuous is the one called "the Ambassador," though he seems rather to be a minister for foreign affairs. This person, like all the others, must be of noble birth; and must be endued with great abilities, sagacity, and penetration. He should be honest, popular, dexterous in business, acquainted with countries and with the times, handsome, intrepid, and eloquent.

The army is to be immediately regulated by a commander in chief; the actual infliction of punishment by the officers of justice; the treasury and the country by the King himself; peace and war by the Ambassador.[h] The King was doubtless to superintend all those departments; but when tired of overlooking the affairs of men, he might allow that duty to devolve on a well qualified prime minister.[i]

His internal administration is to be conducted by a chain of civil officers, consisting of lords of single townships or villages, lords of ten towns, lords of 100, and lords of 1000 towns.

These are all to be appointed by the King, and each is to report all offences and disturbances to his immediate superior.

The compensation of a lord of one town is to be the provisions and other articles to which the King is entitled from the town; that of a lord of ten villages two ploughs of land; the lord of 100 is to

[h] Chap. VII. 54—69. [i] Chap. VII. 141.

have the land of a small village; and of 1000, that of a large town.[k]

These officers are all to be under the inspection of superintendents of high rank and great authority. There is to be one in every large town or city; and on them it depends to check the abuses to which the officers of districts (it is said) are naturally prone.[l]

The country is also to be partitioned into military divisions, in each of which is to be a body of troops, commanded by an approved officer[m], whose territorial limits do not necessarily correspond with those of any of the civil magistrates.

Revenue.

The revenue consists of a share of all grain and of all other agricultural produce; taxes on commerce; a very small annual imposition on petty traders and shopkeepers; and a forced service of a day in each month by handicraftsmen.[n]

The merchants are to be taxed on a consideration of the prime cost of their commodities, the expenses of travelling, and their net profits.

The following are the rates of taxation: —

On cattle, gems, gold, and silver, added each year to the capital stock, one fiftieth; which in time of war or invasion may be increased to one twentieth.

k In the first case the compensation is derived from the small fees in kind, which still form the remuneration of the village officers; in the other three cases, it consists of the King's share of the produce of the land specified.

l Chap. VII. 119—123. m Chap. VII. 114.

n Ch p. VII. 137, 138.

On grain, one twelfth, one eighth, or one sixth, according to the soil and the labour necessary to cultivate it. This also may be raised, in cases of emergency, even as far as one fourth; and must always have been the most important item of the public revenue.

On the clear annual increase of trees, flesh meat, honey, perfumes, and several other natural productions and manufactures, one sixth.[o]

The King is also entitled to 20 per cent. on the profit of all sales.[p] Escheats for want of heirs have been mentioned as being his, and so also is all property to which no owner appears within three years after proclamation.[q] Besides possessing mines of his own, he is entitled to half of all precious minerals in the earth.[r] He appears, likewise, to have a right of pre-emption on some description of goods.[s]

It has been argued that, in addition to the rights which have just been specified, the King was regarded in the Code as possessing the absolute property of the land. This opinion is supported by a passage (VIII. 39.) where he is said to be "lord paramount of the soil;" and by another, where it is supposed to be directed that an occupier of land shall be responsible to the King if he fails to sow it. (VIII. 243.)

In reply to this it is urged, that the first quota-

[o] Chap. VII. 127—132.
[p] Chap. VIII. 398.
[q] Chap. VIII. 30.
[r] Chap. VIII. 39.
[s] Chap. VIII. 399.

tion is deprived of its force by a similar passage (VII. 7.), where the King is said to be "the regent of the waters and the lord of the firmament."

The second is answered by denying its correctness; but even if undisputed, it might only be a provision against the King's losing his share of the produce in consequence of the neglect of the proprietor. A text is also produced in opposition to the King's claim, in which it is stated that "land is the property of him who cut away the wood;" or, in the words of the commentator, "who tilled and cleared it." (IX. 44.) But the conclusive argument is, that the King's share being limited, as above, to one sixth, or at most one fourth, there must have been another proprietor for the remaining five sixths or three fourths, who must obviously have had the greatest interest of the two in the whole property shared.[t]

It is remarkable, however, that so little allusion is made in the code to the property of individuals in land, although so many occasions seem to require it. It is directly mentioned in a passage about boundaries (VIII. 262—265.), and in another place (IX. 49. 52—54.) an argument is illustrated by supposing seed belonging to one man to be sown in land belonging to another; and in IV. 230. 233., gifts of land are spoken of as if in

[t] The arguments on both sides are stated in *Wilks's History of Mysore*, vol. i. chap. v., and Appendix, p. 483.; and in *Mill's History of British India*, vol. i. p. 180.

the power of individuals to confer them; but the last two passages may be construed to refer to villages, or to the King.

In the division of inheritances, and the rules about mortgages, in describing the wealth of individuals, and in disposing of the property of banished men, other possessions are mentioned, but land never alluded to.

Were it not for the passage first quoted (VIII. 262—265.), we might conclude that all land was held in common by the village communities, as is still the case in many parts of India; and *this* may, perhaps, have been the general rule, although individuals may have possessed property by grants from the villages or from the King.

The Court.

The King is recommended to fix his capital in a fertile part of his dominions, but in an immediate neighbourhood difficult of access, and incapable of supporting invading armies.

He should keep his fortress always well garrisoned and provisioned. In the centre should be his own palace, also defensible, "well finished, and brilliant, surrounded with water and trees."

He is then to choose a queen distinguished for birth and beauty, and to appoint a domestic priest.[u]

He is to rise in the last watch of the night, and, after sacrifices, to hold a court in a hall decently splendid, and to dismiss his subjects with kind

[u] Chap. VII. 69—78.

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looks and words. This done, he is to assemble his council on a mountain or a terrace, in a bower or a forest, or other lonely place without listeners; from which women and talking birds are to be carefully removed. He is then, after manly exercises and bathing, to dine in his private apartments, and this time and midnight are to be allotted to the regulation of his family, to considering appointments, and such other public business as is most of a personal nature.[v]

He is now, also, to give some time to relaxation; and then to review his troops, perform his religious duties at sunset, and afterwards to receive the reports of his emissaries. At length he withdraws to his most private apartments to supper; and after indulging for some time in music, is to retire to rest.[x]

This rational and pleasing picture is broken by the mention of many of those precautions which must take from all the enjoyments of an Asiatic monarch. His food is only to be served by trustworthy persons, and is to be accompanied by antidotes against poison. He is to be armed when he receives his emissaries; even his female attendants are to be searched, for fear of hidden weapons; and whether at home or abroad, he is to be constantly on his guard against the plots of his enemies.

Policy.

Foreign policy and war are the subjects of many

[v] Chap. VII. 145—151.

[x] Chap. 216—225.

of the rules for government. These are interesting, from the clear proofs which they afford of the division of India, even at that early period, into many unequal and independent states; and also, from the signs which they disclose of a civilised and gentle people. The King is to provide for his safety by vigilance, and a state of preparation; but he is to act on all occasions without guile, and never with insincerity.[y] The arts which may be employed against enemies are four; presents, sowing divisions, negotiations, and force of arms: the wise, it is said, prefer the two last.[z]

The King is to regard his nearest neighbours and their allies as hostile, the powers next beyond these natural foes as amicable, and all more remote powers as neutral.[a] It is remarkable that, among the ordinary expedients to be resorted to in difficulties, the protection of a more powerful prince is more than once adverted to.[b]

Yet this protection appears to involve unqualified submission; and, on the last occasion on which it is mentioned, the King is advised, if he thinks it an evil, even when in extremities, to persevere alone, although weak, in waging vigorous war without fear.[c]

Vast importance is attached to spies, both in foreign politics and in war. Minute instructions are given regarding the sort of persons to be em-

[y] Chap. VII. 103, 104.
[z] Chap. VII. 109.
[a] Chap. VII. 158.
[b] Chap. VII. 160.
[c] Chap. VIII. 175, 176.

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ployed, some of whom are of the same description that are now used in India, — active artful youths, degraded anchorets, distressed husbandmen, decayed merchants, and fictitious penitents.[d]

War.

The rules of war are simple; and, being drawn up by Bramins, they show nothing of the practical ability for which the Indians are often distinguished at present.

The plan of a campaign resembles those of the Greek republics, or the early days of Rome; and seems suited to countries of much less extent than those which now exist in India.

The King is to march when the vernal or autumnal crop is on the ground, and is to advance straight to the capital. In another place, 100 bowmen in a fort are said to be a match for 10,000 enemies; so far was the art of attack behind that of defence: a siege, therefore, is out of the question; but, if not opposed, the King is to ravage the country, and intrigue with the enemy's chiefs, until he can bring his foe to an action on favourable terms[e], or, what is still more desirable, bring him to terms by negotiation.

Armies were composed of cavalry and infantry. The great weapon of both was probably the bow, together with the sword and target. Elephants were much employed in war; and chariots seem still to have formed an important branch of the army.

Several different orders of march and battle are

[d] Chap. VII. 154. [e] Chap. VII. 181—197.

briefly given. The King is advised to recruit his forces from the upper parts of Hindostan, where the best men are still found. He is in person to set an example of valour to his troops, and is recommended to encourage them, when drawn up for battle, with short and animated speeches.

Prize property belongs to the individual who took it; but when not captured separately, it is to be distributed among the troops.[f]

The laws of war are honourable and humane. Poisoned and mischievously barbed arrows, and fire arrows, are all prohibited. There are many situations in which it is by no means allowable to destroy the enemy. Among those who must always be spared are unarmed or wounded men, and those who have broken their weapon, and one who asks his life, and one who says, "I am thy captive." Other prohibitions are still more generous: a man on horseback or in a chariot is not to kill one on foot; nor is it allowed to kill one who sits down fatigued, or who sleeps, or who flees, or who is fighting with another man.[g]

The settlement of a conquered country is conducted on equally liberal principles. Immediate security is to be assured to all by proclamation. The religion and laws of the country are to be maintained and respected; and as soon as time has been allowed for ascertaining that the conquered people are to be trusted, a prince of the old royal

[f] Chap. VII. 96, 97. [g] Chap. VII. 90—93.

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family is to be placed on the throne, and to hold his kingdom as a dependence on the conqueror.[h]

It is remarkable that, although the pay of the King's household servants is settled with some minuteness[i], not a syllable is said regarding that of the army, or the source from which its support is derived. The practice of modern Hindú nations would lead us to suppose that it was maintained by assignments of land to the chiefs; but, if that practice had existed at the time of the Code, it is impossible that so important a body as those chiefs would have formed should not have been alluded to in discussing the internal administration; even if no rules were suggested for regulating their attendance and for securing some portion of the King's authority over the lands thus alienated. It is possible that the army may have been paid by separate assignments of land to each individual soldier, in the same manner as the local troops of the small states in the south of India (which have been little visited by the Mahometans) are still; and this opinion derives some support from the payment of the civil officers having been provided for by such assignments.[k]

From one passage it would appear that the monarchy descended, undivided, to one son, probably (according to Hindú rule) to him whom his father regarded as most worthy.

[h] Chap. VII. 201—203. [i] Chap. VII. 126.

[k] See Chap. VII. 119., already referred to.

# CHAP. III.

## ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

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General rules.

Justice is to be administered by the King in person, assisted by Bramins and other counsellors[a]; or that function may be deputed to one Bramin, aided by three assessors of the same class.[b] There is no exception made for the conduct of criminal trials; but it may be gathered from the general tone of the laws, that the King is expected to take a more active share in this department than in the investigation of civil causes.

From the silence of the Code regarding local administration, it may perhaps be inferred that the King's representative fills his place in the courts of justice, at towns remote from the royal residence.[c]

[a] Chap. VIII. 1, 2. [b] Chap. VIII. 9—11.

[c] The early practice of the Hindús recorded in other books leaves this question in some uncertainty; for, in those books, it appears that there were local judges appointed by the King in different parts of the country; and also a provision for arbitrations, to be authorised by the judges, in three gradations—first, of kinsmen; secondly, of men of the same trade; and thirdly, of townsmen: an appeal from the first lying to the second, and from the second to the third. Appeals lay from all three to the local court, from that to the chief court at the capital, and from that to the king in his own court, composed of a certain number of judges, to whom were joined his ministers, and his domestic chaplain (who was to direct his conscience); but,

The King is entitled to five per cent. on all debts admitted by the defendant on trial, and to ten per cent. on all denied and proved.[d] This fee probably went direct to the judges, who would thus be remunerated without infringing the law against Bramins serving for hire.

A King or judge, in trying causes, is carefully to observe the countenances, gestures, and mode of speech of the parties and witnesses.

He is to attend to local usages of districts, the peculiar laws of classes and rules of families, and the customs of traders: when not inconsistent with the above, he is to observe the principles established by former judges.

Neither he nor his officers are to encourage litigation, though they must show no slackness in taking up any suit regularly instituted.[e]

A King is reckoned among the worst of criminals who receives his revenue from his subjects without affording them due protection in return.[f]

The King is enjoined to bear with rough language from irritated litigants, as well as from old or sick people, who come before him.[g]

He is also cautioned against deciding causes on his own judgment, without consulting persons

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though these might advise, the decision rested with the King. The precise date when this system was in perfection is not stated. — Colebrooke on the Hindú Courts of Judicature, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 166.

[d] Chap. VIII. 139. [e] Chap. VIII. 41—46.

[f] Chap. VIII. 307. [g] Chap. VIII. 312.

learned in the law[h]; and is positively forbidden to disturb any transaction that has once been settled conformably to law.[i] In trials he is to adhere to established practice.[k]

CHAP. III.

### 1. *Criminal Law.*

Criminal law.

The criminal law is very rude, and this portion of the Code, together with the religious penances, leave a more unfavourable impression of the early Hindús than any other part of the Institutes.

It is not, however, sanguinary, unless when influenced by superstition or by the prejudice of cast; and if punishments are in some cases too severe, in others they are far too lenient. Mutilation (chiefly of the hand) is among the punishments, as in all Asiatic codes. Burning alive is one of the inflictions on offenders against the sacerdotal order; but it is an honourable distinction from most ancient codes that torture is never employed either against witnesses or criminals. But the laxness, confusion, and barbarism which pervade this branch of the law seem to prove that it was drawn from the practice of very early times; and the adoption of it at the time of the compilation of these Institutes shows an unimproved condition even then, though it is not unlikely that parts of it were early superseded by an arbitrary system more conformable to reason, as is the case in Hindú countries in modern times; and by no

h Chap. VIII. 390. i Chap. IX. 233.

k Chap. VIII. 45.

means improbable that the bloody laws in favour of religion and of the priesthood, though inserted in the Code by the Bramin author, as the ideal perfection of a Hindú criminal law, may never have been acted on by any Cshetrya king.[1]

The punishments, though not always in themselves severe, are often disproportioned to the offence; and are frequently so indistinctly or contradictorily declared as to leave the fate of an offender quite uncertain.

Both these faults are conspicuous in the following instance: — Slaying a priest, drinking spirits, stealing the gold of a priest, and violating the bed of one's natural or spiritual father, are all classed under one head, and subject to one punishment.[m] That punishment is at first declared to be, branding on the forehead, banishment, and absolute exclusion from the society of mankind (unless previously expiated by penance[n], in which case the highest fine is to be substituted for branding); and this is declared applicable to all the classes.[o] Yet it is immediately afterwards directed that, when expiation has been performed, a priest guilty of those offences shall pay the middle fine, and shall in no

1 In the "Toy Cart," the earliest of the Hindú dramas, and written about the commencement of our era, this extravagant veneration for Bramins no where appears. The King sentences one of that class convicted of murder to be put to death; and though he is afterwards deposed by a successful rebellion, and although the Bramin's innocence is proved, this open defiance of the laws of Menu is not made a charge against the dethroned prince.

m Chap. IX. 235. n Chap. IX. 237.

o Chap. IX. 240.

case be deprived of his effects or the society of his family; while it is pronounced that the other classes, even after expiation, shall, in case of premeditation, suffer death.[p]

Still more inconsistent are the punishments for adultery, and what are called overt acts of adulterous inclination. Among these last are included, talking to the wife of another man at a place of pilgrimage, or in a forest, or at the confluence of rivers; sending her flowers or perfumes; touching her apparel or her ornaments, and sitting on the same couch with her[q]; yet the penalty is banishment, with such bodily marks as may excite aversion.[r]

For adultery itself, it is first declared, without reserve, that the woman is to be devoured by dogs, and the man burned on an iron bed[s]; yet, in the verses next following, it appears that the punishment of adultery without aggravation is a fine of from 500 to 1000 panas.[t]

The punishment, indeed, increases in proportion to the dignity of the party offended against. Even a soldier committing adultery with a Bramin woman, if she be of eminently good qualities, and properly guarded, is to be burned alive in a fire of dry grass or reeds.[u] These flat contradictions can only be accounted for by supposing that the compiler put

p Chap. IX. 241, 242.

q Chap. VIII. 356, 357.

r Chap. VIII. 352.

s Chap. VIII. 371, 372.

t Chap. VII. 376. 382—385.

u Chap. VIII. 377.

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down the laws of different periods, or those supported by different authorities, without considering how they bore on each other.

There is no express punishment for murder. From one passage[x] it would appear that it (as well as arson and robbery attended with violence) is capital, and that the slighter punishments mentioned in other places were in cases where there was no premeditation; but, as the murder of particular descriptions of persons is afterwards declared capital[y], it remains doubtful what is the punishment for the offence in simple cases.

Theft is punished, if small, with fine; if of greater amount, with cutting off the hand; but if the thief be taken with the stolen goods upon him, it is capital.[z]

Receivers of stolen goods, and persons who harbour thieves, are liable to the same punishment as the thief.[a]

It is remarkable that, in cases of small theft, the fine of a Bramin offender is at least eight times as great as that of a Súdra, and the scale varies in a similar manner and proportion between all the classes.[b] A King committing an offence is to pay a thousand times as great a fine as would be exacted from an ordinary person.[c]

Robbery seems to incur amputation of the limb principally employed. If accompanied with vio-

[x] Chap. VIII. 344—347.
[y] Chap. IX. 232.
[z] Chap. IX. 270.
[a] Chap. IX. 278.
[b] Chap. VIII. 337, 338.
[c] Chap. VIII. 336.

lence it is capital; and all who shelter robbers, or supply them with food or implements, are to be punished with death.

Forging royal edicts, causing dissensions among great ministers, adhering to the King's enemies, and slaying women, priests, or children, are put under one head as capital.[d]

Men who openly oppose the King's authority, who rob his treasury, or steal his elephants, horses, or cars, are liable to capital punishment; as are those who break into a temple to steal.[e]

For cutting purses, the first offence is cutting off the fingers, the second the hand, the third is capital.[f]

False evidence is to be punished with banishment accompanied by fine, except in case of a Bramin, when it is banishment alone.[g]

Banishment is likewise the sentence pronounced upon men who do not assist in repelling an attempt to plunder a town[h], to break down an embankment, or to commit robbery on the highway.

Public guards, not resisting or apprehending thieves, are to be punished like the thieves.[i]

Gamesters and keepers of gaming-houses are liable to corporal punishment.[k]

[d] Chap. IX. 232.
[e] Chap. IX. 280.
[f] Chap. IX. 277.
[g] Chap. VIII. 120—123.
[h] Chap. IX. 274. If this law does not refer to foreign enemies, it shows that gang robbery, now so well known under the name of *decoity*, existed even when this code was compiled.
[i] Chap. IX. 272.
[k] Chap. IX. 224.

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Most other offences are punished by fines, though sometimes other punishments are substituted.

No fine must exceed 1000 panas, or fall short of 250.[l]

Defamation is confined to this sort of penalty, except with Súdras, who are liable to be whipped. It is to be observed, however, that this class is protected by a fine from defamation, even by a Bramin.[m]

Abusive language is still more distinguished for the inequality of punishments among the casts; but even in this branch of the law are traces of a civilised spirit. Men reproaching their neighbours with lameness, blindness, or any other natural infirmity, are liable to a small fine, even if they speak the truth.[n]

Assaults, if among equals, are punished by a fine of 100 panas for blood drawn, a larger sum for a wound, and banishment for breaking a bone.[o] The prodigious inequalities into which the penalty runs between men of different classes has already been noticed.[p]

Proper provisions are made for injuries inflicted in self-defence; in consequence of being forcibly obstructed in the execution of one's duty, or in defence of persons unjustly attacked.[q]

Furious and careless driving involves fines as

[l] Chap. VIII. 138.
[m] Chap. VIII. 267—277.
[n] Chap. VIII. 274.
[o] Chap. VIII. 284.
[p] Page 24.
[q] Chap. VIII. 348, &c.

different in degree as the loss occasioned by the death of a man and of the lowest animal.[r]

Persons defiling the highways are subject to a small fine, besides being obliged to remove the nuisance.[s]

Ministers taking bribes in private affairs are punished by confiscation of their property.[t]

The offences of physicians or surgeons who injure their patients for want of skill; breaking hedges, palisades, and earthern idols; mixing pure with impure commodities, and other impositions on purchasers, are all lumped up under a penalty of from 250 to 500 panas.[u] Selling bad grain for good, however, incurs severe corporal punishment[x]; and, what far more passes the limits of just distinction, a goldsmith guilty of fraud is ordered to be cut to pieces with razors.[y]

Some offences not noticed by other codes are punished in this one with whimsical disregard to their relative importance; forsaking one's parents, son, or wife, for instance, is punished by a fine of 600 panas; and not inviting one's next neighbour to entertainments on certain occasions, by a fine of one másha of silver.[z]

The rules of police are harsh and arbitrary. Besides maintaining patrols and fixed guards, open and secret, the king is to have many spies, who

[r] Chap. VIII. 290—298.
[s] Chap. IX. 282, 283.
[t] Chap. IX. 231.
[u] Chap. IX. 284—287.
[x] Chap. IX. 291.
[y] Chap. IX. 292.
[z] Chap. VII. 389. 392.

are to mix with the thieves, and lead them into situations where they may be entrapped. When fair means fail, the prince is to seize them and put them to death, with their relations: the ancient commentator, Culluca, inserts, "on proof of their guilt, and the participation of their relations;" which, no doubt, would be a material improvement on the text, but for which there is no authority.[a]

Gamesters, public dancers, and singers, revilers of scripture, open heretics, men who perform not the duties of their several classes, and sellers of spirituous liquors, are to be instantly banished the town.[b]

## 2. *Civil Law.*

Civil law.

The laws for civil judicature are very superior to the penal code, and, indeed, are much more rational and matured than could well be expected of so early an age.

Mode of proceeding.

Cases are first stated in which the plaintiff is to be nonsuited, or the decision to go by default[c] against the defendant; and rules then given in case the matter comes to a trial.

The witnesses must be examined standing in the middle of the court-room, and in the presence of the parties. The judge must previously address a particular form of exhortation to them, and warn them, in the strongest terms, of the enormous guilt of false evidence, and the punishment with which

[a] Chap. IX. 252—269.  [b] Chap. IX. 225.
[c] Chap. VIII. 52—57.

it will be followed in a future state.[d] If there are no witnesses, the judge must admit the oaths of the parties.[e]

Law of evidence.

The law of evidence in many particulars resembles that of England: persons having a pecuniary interest in the cause, infamous persons, menial servants, familiar friends, with others disqualified on slighter grounds, are in the first instance excluded from giving testimony; but, in default of other evidence, almost every description of persons may be examined, the judge making due allowances for the disqualifying causes.[f]

Two exceptions which disgrace these otherwise well-intentioned rules have attracted more attention in Europe than the rules themselves. One is the declaration that a giver of false evidence, for the purpose of saving the life of a man of whatever class, who may have exposed himself to capital punishment[g], shall not lose a seat in heaven; and, though bound to perform an expiation, has, on the whole, performed a meritorious action.[h]

The other does not relate to judicial evidence, but pronounces that, in courting a woman, in an affair where grass or fruit has been eaten by a cow, and in case of a promise made for the preservation

[d] Chap. VIII. 79—101. [e] Chap. VIII. 101.

[f] Chap. VIII. 61—72.

[g] The ancient commentator, Culluca, inserts, after "capital punishment," the words "through inadvertence or error;" which proves that, in his time, the words of the text were repugnant to the moral feeling of the community.

[h] Chap. VIII. 103, 104.

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of a Bramin, it is no deadly sin to take a light oath.[i]

From these passages it has been assumed that the Hindú law gives a direct sanction to perjury; and to this has been ascribed the prevalence of false evidence, which is common to men of all religions in India: yet there is more space devoted in this code to the prohibition of false evidence than to that of any other crime, and the offence is denounced in terms as awful as have ever been applied to it in any European treatise either of religion or of law.[k]

Mode of proceedings resumed.

A party advancing a wilfully false plea or defence is liable to a heavy fine: a judicious rule, which is pushed to absurdity in subjecting to corporal punishment a plaintiff who procrastinates the prosecution of his demand.[l] Appeals to ordeal are admitted, as might be expected, in so superstitious a people.[m]

i Chap. VIII. 112.

k "Marking well all the murders comprehended in the crime of perjury, declare thou the whole truth with precision." — Chap. VIII. 101.

"Whatever places of torture have been prepared for the slayer of a priest, those places are ordained for a witness who gives false evidence." — Chap. VIII. 89.

"Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst, and deprived of sight, shall the man who gives false evidence go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy." — "Headlong, in utter darkness, shall the impious wretch tumble into hell, who, being interrogated on a judicial inquiry, answers one question falsely." — Chap. VIII. 93, 94.

l Chap. VIII. 58, 59.

m Chap. VIII. 114—116.

The following statement of the principal titles of law implies an advanced stage of civilisation, and would not, in itself, be deficient in clearness and good sense, if it were not for the mixture of civil and criminal suits: — 1st, debt on loans for consumption; 2d, deposits and loans for use; 3d, sale without ownership; 4th, concerns among partners; 5th, subtraction of what has been given; 6th, nonpayment of wages or hire; 7th, non-performance of agreements; 8th, rescission of sale and purchase; 9th, disputes between master and servant; 10th, contests on boundaries; 11th and 12th, assault and slander; 13th, larceny; 14th, robbery and other violence; 15th, adultery; 16th, altercation between man and wife, and their several duties; 17th, the law of inheritance; 18th, gaming with dice and with living creatures.[n]

Some of these heads are treated of in a full and satisfactory manner, while the rules in others are meagre, and such as to show that the transactions they relate to were still in a simple state. I shall only mention a few of the most remarkable provisions under each head.

Debts.

A creditor is authorised, before complaining to the court, to recover his property by any means in his power, resorting even to force within certain bounds.[o]

This law still operates so strongly in some Hindú states, that a creditor imprisons his debtor in his

[n] Chap. VIII. 4—7.

[o] Chap. VIII. 48—50.

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private house, and even keeps him for a period without food and exposed to the sun, to compel him to produce the money he owes.

Interest of money.

Interest varies from 2 per cent. per mensem for a Bramin to 5 per cent. for a Súdra. It is reduced to one half when there is a pledge, and ceases altogether if the pledge can be used for the profit of the lender.[p]

There are rules regarding interest on money lent on bottomry *for sea voyages*, and on similar risk by land; and others for preventing the accumulation of interest on money above the original amount of the principal.[q]

Contracts.

Various rules regarding sureties for personal appearance and pecuniary payments, as well as regarding contracts, are introduced under this head.

Fraudulent contracts, and contracts entered into for illegal purposes, are null. A contract made, even by a slave, for the support of the family of his absent master, is binding on the master.[r]

Sale without ownership.

A sale by a person not the owner is void, unless made in the open market; in that case it is valid if the purchaser can produce the seller, otherwise the right owner may take the property on paying half the value.[s]

A trader breaking his promise is to be fined; or, if it was made on oath, to be banished.[t]

[p] Chap. VIII. 140—143.
[q] Chap. VIII. 151. 156, 157.
[r] Chap. VIII. 158—167.
[s] Chap. VIII. 197—202.
[t] Chap. VIII. 219, &c.

A sale may be unsettled by either party within ten days after it is made, but not later.[u]

Disputes between master and servant.

Disputes between master and servant refer almost entirely to herdsmen and their responsibilities about cattle.[x]

Disputes about boundaries.

Boundaries of villages are to be marked by natural objects, such as streams, or by planting trees, digging ponds, and building temples along them, as well as by other open marks above ground, and secret ones buried in the earth. In case of disputes, witnesses are to be examined on oath, in the presence of all the parties concerned, putting earth on their heads, wearing chaplets of red flowers, and clad in red garments. If the question cannot be settled by evidence, the King must make a general inquiry and fix the boundary by authority.

The same course is to be adopted about the boundaries of private fields.[y]

Relations between man and wife.

The rules regarding man and wife are full of puerilities; the most important ones shall be stated after a short account of the laws relating to marriage.

Six forms of marriage are recognised as lawful. Of these, four only are allowed to Bramins, which (though differing in minute particulars) all agree in insisting that the father shall give away his daughter without receiving a price. The remain-

[u] Chap, VIII. 222.
[x] Chap. VIII. 229—234.
[y] Chap. VIII. 245—265.

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ing two forms are permitted to the military class alone, and are abundantly liberal even with that limitation. One is, when a soldier carries off a woman after a victory, and espouses her against her will; and the other, when consummation takes place by mutual consent, without any formal ceremony whatever. Two sorts of marriage are forbidden: when the father receives a nuptial present[z]; and when the woman, from intoxication, or other cause, has been incapable of giving a real consent to the union.[a]

A girl may be married at eight; and, if her father fails to give her a husband for three years after she is marriageable, she is at liberty to choose one for herself.

Men may marry women of the classes below them, but on no account of those superior to their own.[b] A man must not marry within six known degrees of relationship on either side, nor with any woman whose family name, being the same, shows her to be of the same race as his own.[c]

The marriage of people of equal class is performed by joining hands; but a woman of the military class, marrying a Bramin, holds an arrow

[z] There is, however, throughout the Code, a remarkable wavering on this head, the acceptance of a present being in general spoken of with disgust, as a sale of the daughter, while, in some places, the mode of disposing of presents so received, and the claims arising from them, are discussed as legal points.

[a] Chap. III. 20—34. [b] Chap. III. 12—19.

[c] Chap. III. 5.

in her hand; a Veisya woman a whip; and a Súdra, the skirt of a mantle.[d]

The marriage of equals is most recommended, for the first wife at least: that of a Bramin with a Súdra is discouraged; and, as a first wife, it is positively forbidden.[e]

Marriage is indissoluble, and the parties are bound to observe mutual fidelity.[e]

From the few cases hereafter specified, in which the husband may take a second wife, it may be inferred that, with those exceptions, he must have but one wife. A man may marry again on the death of his wife; but the marriage of widows is discouraged, if not prohibited (except in the case of Súdras).

A wife who is barren for eight years, or she who has produced no male children in eleven, may be *superseded* by another wife.[f]

It appears, notwithstanding this expression, that the wife first married retains the highest rank in the family.[g]

Drunken and immoral wives, those who bear malice to their husbands, or are guilty of very great extravagance, may also be superseded.[h]

A wife who leaves her husband's house, or neglects him for a twelvemonth, without a cause, may be deserted altogether.[i]

[d] Chap. III. 44.
[e] Chap. IX. 46, 47. 101, 102.
[f] Chap. IX. 81.
[g] Chap. IX. 122.
[h] Chap. IX. 80.
[i] Chap. IX. 77—79.

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A man going abroad must leave a provision for his wife.[k]

The wife is bound to wait for her absent husband for eight years, if he be gone on religious duty; six, if in pursuit of knowledge or fame; and three, if for pleasure only.[l]

The practice of allowing a man to raise up issue to his brother, if he died without children, or even if (though still alive) he have no hopes of progeny, is reprobated, except for Súdras, or in case of a widow who has lost her husband before consummation.[m]

Inheritance.

The natural heirs of a man are the sons of his body, and their sons, and the sons of his daughter, appointed in default of heirs male to raise up issue to him.[n]

The son of his wife, begotten by a near kinsman, at some time when his own life had been despaired of, according to the practice formerly noticed[o], (which, though disapproved of as heretical, would

[k] Chap. IX. 74.

[l] Chap. IX. 76. Culluca, in his Commentary, adds, "after those terms she must follow him;" but the Code seems rather to refer to the term at which she may contract a second marriage. From the contradictions in the Code regarding marriages of widows (as on some other subjects) we may infer that the law varied at different places or times; or rather, perhaps, that the writer's opinion and the actual practice were at variance. The opinion against such marriages prevails in modern times, and must have done so to a great extent in that of Culluca.

[m] Chap. IX. 59—70.

[n] Chap. IX. 104. 133.

[o] Chap. IX. 59, &c.

appear to be recognised when it has actually taken place,) is also entitled to inherit as a son.[p]

On the failure of issue of the above description, an adopted son succeeds: such a son loses all claim on the inheritance of his original father; and is entitled to a sixth of the property of his adoptive one, even if, subsequently to his adoption, sons of the body should be born.[q]

On failure of the above heirs follow ten descriptions of sons, such as never could have been thought of but by Hindús, with whom the importance of a descendant for the purpose of performing obsequies is superior to most considerations. Among these are included the son of a man's wife by an uncertain father, begotten when he himself has long been absent, and the son of his wife of whom she was pregnant, without his knowledge, at the time of the marriage. The illegitimate son of his daughter by a man whom she afterwards marries, the son of a man by a married woman who has forsaken her husband, or by a widow, are also admitted into this class; as are, last of all, his own sons by a Súdra wife.[r] These and others (ten in

[p] Chap. IX. 145. Perhaps this recognition is intended to be confined to the son of a Súdra wife, in whom such a proceeding would be legal; but it is not so specified in the text, and the language of the Code on this whole subject is contradictory. The practice is at the present day entirely forbidden to all classes.

[q] Chap. IX. 141, 142. 168, 169.

[r] Chap. IX. 159—161. 167—180. The whole of these sons, except the son of a man's own body, and his adopted

all) are admitted, by a fiction of the law, to be sons, though the author of the Code himself speaks contemptuously of the affiliation, even as affording the means of efficacious obsequies.[s]

On the failure of sons come brothers' sons, who are regarded as standing in the place of sons, and who have a right to be adopted, if they wish it, to the exclusion of all other persons.[t] On failure of sons, grandsons, adopted sons, and nephews, come fathers and mothers; then brothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers[u]; and then other relations, such as are entitled to perform obsequies to common ancestors; failing them, the preceptor, the fellow-student, or the pupil; and, failing them, the Bramins in general; or, in case the deceased be of another class, the King.[x]

A father may distribute his wealth among his

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sons, are entirely repudiated by the Hindú law of the present day.

[s] Chap. IX. 161. [t] Chap. IX. 182.

[u] Chap. IX. 185. 217.

[x] Chap. IX. 186—189. The dependence of inheritance on obsequies leads to some remarkable rules. The first sort of obsequies are only performed to the father, grandfather, and great grandfather. Preference is given to those who perform obsequies to all three; then to those who perform them to two, then to one. Those who perform obsequies to none of the three are passed over. A great great grandson, by this rule, would be set aside, and the succession go to some collateral who was within three degrees of the great grandfather. After those who perform the first sort of obsequies come the more numerous body, who only perform the second. — *Oriental Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 179. *Colebrooke's Digest*, vol. iii. p. 623.

sons while he lives, (it is not stated whether arbitrarily or in fixed proportions;) but his power to make a will is never alluded to.[y]

When a man dies, his sons may either continue to live together with the property united, or they may divide it according to certain rules. If they remain united, the eldest brother takes possession of the property, and the others live under him as they did under their father. In this case, the acquisitions of all the sons (who have not formally withdrawn) go to augment the common stock.[z]

If they divide, one twentieth is set aside for the eldest son, one eightieth for the youngest, and one fortieth for the intermediate sons; the remainder is then equally divided among them all. Unmarried daughters are to be supported by their brothers, and receive no share of the father's estate[a]; but share equally with their brothers in that of their mother.[b]

This equality among the sons is in case of brothers of *equal birth;* but otherwise the son of a Bramin wife takes four parts; of a Cshetriya, three; a Veisya, two; and a Súdra, one.

One such share, or one tenth, is the most a

[y] Chap. IX. 104. Even the power to distribute rests only on the authority of Culluca.

[z] Chap. IX. 103—105. There are exceptions to this rule; but it is still so effective that, in recent times, the humble relations of a man who had raised himself to be prime minister to the Péshwa, were admitted to be entitled to share in his immense property, which they so little contributed to acquire.

[a] Chap. IX. 112—118. [b] Chap. IX. 192.

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son of a Súdra mother can take, even if there are no other sons.[c]

Eunuchs, outcasts, persons born deaf, dumb, or blind; persons who have lost the use of a limb, madmen, and idiots, are excluded from succession, but must be maintained by the heirs.

The sons of excluded persons, however, are capable of inheriting.[d]

[c] Chap. IX. 151—155. In these rules, throughout the Code, great confusion is created by preference shown to sons and others who are "learned and virtuous;" no person being specified who is to decide on their claims to those qualities.

[d] Chap. IX. 201—203.

## CHAP. IV.

### RELIGION.

THE religion taught in the Institutes is derived from the Védas, to which scriptures they refer in every page. CHAP. IV.

The Védas.

There are four Védas; but the fourth is rejected by many of the learned Hindús, and the number reduced to three. Each Véda is composed of two, or perhaps of three, parts. The first[a] consists of hymns and prayers; the second part[b], of precepts which inculcate religious duties, and of arguments relating to theology.[c] Some of these last are embodied in separate tracts, which are sometimes inserted in the second part above-mentioned, and sometimes are in a detached collection, forming a third part.[d]

Every Véda likewise contains a treatise explaining the adjustment of the calendar, for the purpose of fixing the proper period for the performance of each of the duties enjoined.

The Védas are not single works, but produced by different authors, whose names (in the case of hymns and prayers, at least) are attached to them. They were probably written at different periods;

[a] Called Mantra. [b] Brahmaná.

[c] Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 387.

[d] Upanishad.

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but were compiled in their present form in the 14th century before Christ.[e]

They are written in an ancient form of the Shanscrit, so different from that now in use that none but the more learned of the Bramins themselves can understand them. Only a small portion of them has been translated into European languages; and although we possess a summary of their contents (by a writer whose judgment and fidelity may be entirely depended on[f]), sufficient to give us a clear notion of the general scope of their doctrines, yet it does not enable us to speak with confidence of particulars, or to assert that no allusion whatever is made in any part of them to this or that portion of the legends or opinions which constitute the body of the modern Hindú faith.

Monotheism.

The primary doctrine of the Védas is the Unity of God. "There is in truth," say repeated texts, "but one Deity, the Supreme Spirit, the Lord of the Universe, whose work is the universe."[g]

Among the creatures of the Supreme Being are

[e] See Appendix I.

[f] Mr. Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 369.

[g] Professor Wilson, *Oxford Lectures*, p. 11. The following view of the divine character, as presented in the Vedas, is given by a learned Bramin, quoted by Sir William Jones: —"Perfect truth; perfect happiness; without equal; immortal; absolute unity; whom neither speech can describe nor mind comprehend; all-pervading; all-transcending; delighted with his own boundless intelligence; not limited by space or time; without feet, moving swiftly; without hands, grasping all worlds; without eyes, all-surveying; without ears, all-hearing; without an intelligent guide, understanding all; without cause.

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some superior to man, who should be adored, and from whom protection and favours may be obtained through prayer. The most frequently mentioned of these are the gods of the elements, the stars, and the planets; but other personified powers and virtues likewise appear. "The three principal manifestations of the Divinity (Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva), with other personified attributes and energies, and most of the other gods of Hindú mythology, are indeed mentioned, or at least indicated, in the Véda; but the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system."[h]

Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva are rarely named, enjoy no pre-eminence, nor are they ever objects of special adoration[i]; and Mr. Colebrooke could discover no passage in which their incarnations were suggested.

There seem to have been no images and no visible types of the objects of worship.[k]

Religion of Menu.

The doctrine of monotheism prevails throughout the Institutes; and it is declared towards the close that, of all duties, "the principal is to obtain from the Upanishad a true knowledge of one supreme God."[l]

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the first of all causes; all-ruling; all-powerful; the creator, preserver, transformer of all things: such is the Great One."—Sir W. Jones's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 418.

[h] Colebrooke on the Védas, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 494.

[i] Professor Wilson, *Oxford Lectures*, p. 12.

[k] Ibid. p. 12. See also Preface to the *Vishnu Purána*, p. ii.

[l] Chap. XII. 85.

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But although Menu has preserved the idea of the unity of God, his opinions on the nature and operations of the Divinity have fallen off from the purity of their original, and have injudiciously mingled the popular and philosophical systems.

Creation.

This is chiefly apparent in his account of the creation. There are passages in the Védas which declare that God is "the material, as well as the efficient, cause of the universe; the potter by whom the fictile vase is formed; the clay out of which it is fabricated:" yet those best qualified to interpret conceive that these expressions are not to be taken literally, and mean no more than to assert the origin of all things from the same first cause.

The general tendency of the Védas is to show that the substance as well as the form of all created beings was derived from the *will* of the Self-existing Cause.[m]

The Institutes, on the contrary, though not very distinct, appear to regard the universe as formed from the substance of the Creator, and to have a vague notion of the eternal existence of matter as part of the divine substance. According to them, "the Self-existing Power, himself undiscerned, but making this world discernible, with five elements and other principles, appeared with undiminished glory dispelling the gloom."

"He, having willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance, first with a thought

[m] Wilson, *Oxford Lectures*, p. 48.

created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed."[n]

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From this seed sprung the mundane egg, in which the Supreme Being was himself born in the form of Brahmá.

By similar mythological processes, he, under the form of Brahmá, produced the heavens and earth, and the human soul; and to all creatures he gave distinct names and distinct occupations.

He likewise created the deities "with divine attributes and pure souls," and "inferior genii exquisitely delicate."[o]

This whole creation only endures for a certain period; when that expires, the divine energy is withdrawn, Brahmá is absorbed in the supreme essence, and the whole system fades away.[p]

These extinctions of creation, with corresponding revivals, occur periodically, at terms of prodigious length.[q]

Inferior deities.

The inferior deities are representatives of the elements, as Indra, air; Agni, fire; Varúna, water; Prithivi, earth: or of heavenly bodies, Surya, the sun; Chandra, the moon; Vrispati and other planets: or of abstract ideas, as Dherma, God of Justice; Dhanwantara, God of Medicine.[r] None of the heroes who are omitted in the Véda, but who now fill so prominent a part in the Hindú Pantheon (Ráma, Crishna, &c.), are ever alluded to.

[n] Book I. 5. 7.
[o] Chap. I. 8—22.
[p] Chap. I. 51—57.
[q] Chap. I. 73, 74.
[r] Chap. IX. 303—311., and other places.

Even the deities of which these are incarnations are never noticed. Brahmá is more than once named, but Vishnu and Siva never. These three forms of the Divinity occupy no conspicuous place among the deities of the Védas; and their mystical union or triad is never hinted at in Menu, or probably in the Védas. The three forms, into some one of which all other deities are there said to be resolvable, are fire, air, and the sun.[s]

Spirits.

Altogether distinct from the gods are good and evil genii, who are noticed in the creation rather among the animals than the divinities. "Benevolent genii, fierce giants, bloodthirsty savages, heavenly choristers, nymphs and demons, huge serpents and birds of mighty wing, and separate companies of Pitris, or progenitors of mankind."[t]

Man.

Man is endowed with two internal spirits, the vital soul, which gives motion to the body, and the rational, which is the seat of passions and good and bad qualities; and both these souls, though independent existences, are connected with the divine essence which pervades all beings.[u]

It is the vital soul which expiates the sins of the man. It is subjected to torments for periods proportioned to its offences, and is then sent to transmigrate through men and animals, and even plants; the mansion being the lower the greater has been its guilt, until at length it has been purified by

[s] Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. 395—397.
[t] Chap. I. 37.
[u] Chap. I. 14, 15.; XII. 12—14. 24, &c.

suffering and humiliations, is again united to its more pure associates[v], and again commences a career which may lead to eternal bliss.

God endowed man from his creation with "consciousness, the internal monitor[w];" and "made a total difference between right and wrong," as well as between pleasure and pain, and other opposite pairs.[x]

He then produced the Védas for the due performance of the sacrifice ordained from the beginning. But it does not seem necessary to enter further into the metaphysical part of the work of Menu.

The practical part of religion may be divided into ritual and moral.

**Ritual observances.**

The ritual branch occupies too great a portion of the Hindú Code, but not to the exclusion of the moral.

There are religious ceremonies during the pregnancy of the mother, at the birth of the child, and on various subsequent occasions, the principal of which is the shaving of his head, all but one lock, at the first or third year.[y] But by far the most important ceremonial is the investiture with the sacred thread, which must not be delayed beyond sixteen for a Bramin, or twenty-four for a merchant.[z] This great ceremony is called the second birth, and procures for the three classes who are

[v] Chap. XII. 16—22.

[w] Chap. I. 14.

[x] Chap. I. 26.

[y] Chap. II. 26—35.

[z] Chap. II. 36—40.

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admitted to it the title of "twice-born men," by which they are always distinguished throughout the Code. It is on this occasion that the persons invested are taught the mysterious word óm, and the gáyatri, which is the most holy verse of the Védas, which is enjoined in innumerable parts of the Code to be repeated either as devotion or expiation; and which, indeed, joined to universal benevolence, may raise a man to beatitude without the aid of any other religious exercise.[a] This mysterious text, though it is now confined to the Bramins, and is no longer so easy to learn, has been well ascertained by learned Europeans, and is thus translated by Mr. Colebrooke[b]: "Let us meditate the adorable light of the Divine Ruler; may it guide our intellects."

From fuller forms of the same verse, it is evident that the light alluded to is the Supreme Creator, though it might also appear to mean the sun.

It is not easy to see on what its superior sanctity is founded, unless it may at one time have communicated, though in ambiguous language, the secret of the real nature of God to the initiated, when the material sun was the popular object of worship.[g]

[a] Chap. II. 74—87.

[b] Asiatic Researches, vol viii. p. 400.

[c] There are many commentaries on this text, and some difference of opinion as to the sense. The following interpretation is given by Professor Wilson, in a note on the "Hindú Theatre," vol. i. p. 184.: — "Let us meditate on the supreme splendour of that divine sun, who may illuminate our under-

Every Bramin, and, perhaps, every twice-born man, must bathe daily; must pray at morning and evening twilight, in some unfrequented place near pure water[d]; and must daily perform five sacraments, viz., studying the Véda; making oblations to the manes and to fire in honour of the deities; giving rice to living creatures; and receiving guests with honour.[e]

The gods are worshipped by burnt-offerings of clarified butter, and libations of the juice of the moon plant, at which ceremonies they are invoked by name; but although idols are mentioned, and in one place desired to be respected[f], yet the adoration of them is never noticed but with disapprobation; nor is the present practice of offering perfumes and flowers to them ever alluded to. The oblations enjoined are to be offered by Bramins at their domestic fire, and the other ceremonies performed by themselves in their own houses.[g]

Most of the other sacraments are easily dispatched, but the reading of the Védas is a serious task.

They must be read distinctly and aloud, with a calm mind and in a respectful posture. The read-

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standings." And the following is published as a literal translation by Rám Móhan Rái (*Translation of the Védas*, p. 117.): — "We meditate on that supreme spirit of the splendid sun who directs our understandings."

[d] Chap. II. 101—104.

[e] Chap. III. 69, 70.

[f] Chap. IV. 130.

[g] Chap. III. 82, &c.

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ing is liable to be interrupted by many omens, and must be suspended likewise on the occurrence of various contingencies which, by disturbing the mind, may render it unfit for such an occupation. Wind, rain, thunder, earthquakes, meteors, eclipses, the howling of jackalls, and many other incidents, are of the first description: the prohibition against reading where lutes sound or where arrows whistle, when a town is beset by robbers, or when terrors have been excited by strange phenomena, clearly refers to the second.[h]

The last sacrament, that of hospitality to guests, is treated at length, and contains precepts of politeness and self-denial which would be very pleasing if they were not so much restricted to Bramins entertaining men of their own class.[i]

Besides the daily oblations, there are monthly obsequies to the manes of each man's ancestors. These are to be performed "in empty glades, naturally clean, or on the banks of rivers and in solitary spots." The sacrificer is there to burn certain offerings, and with many ceremonies to set down cakes of rice and clarified butter, invoking the manes to come and partake of them.

He is afterwards to feast a small number of Bramins (not however his usual friends or guests). He is to serve them with respect, and they are to eat in silence.

"Departed ancestors, no doubt, are attendant

[h] Chap. IV. 99—126. [i] Chap. III. 99—118.

on such invited Bramins, hovering around them like pure spirits, and sitting by them when they are seated."[k]

No obsequies are to be performed for persons of disreputable or criminal life, or for those who illegally kill themselves[l]; but, on the other hand, there is a striking ceremony by which a great offender is renounced by his family, his obsequies being solemnly performed by them while he is yet alive. In the event of repentance and expiation, however, he can by another ceremony be restored to his family and to civil life.[m]

Innumerable are the articles of food from which a twice-born man must abstain; some for plain reasons, as carnivorous birds, tame hogs, and other animals whose appearance or way of living is disgusting; but others are so arbitrarily fixed, that a cock, a mushroom, a leek, or an onion, occasions immediate loss of cast[n]; while hedgehogs, porcupines, lizards, and tortoises are expressly declared to be lawful food. A Bramin is forbidden, under severe penalties, to eat the food of a hunter or a dishonest man, a worker in gold or in cane, or a washer of clothes, or a dyer. The cruelty of a hunter's trade may join him, in the eyes of a Bramin, to a dishonest man; but, among many other arbitrary proscriptions, one is surprised to find a physician[o], and to observe that this learned and

[k] Chap. III. 189.
[l] Chap. V. 89.
[m] Chap. XI. 182—187.
[n] Chap. V. 18, 19.
[o] Chap. IV. 212.

beneficent profession is always classed with those which are most impure.

What chiefly surprises us is to find most sorts of flesh permitted to Bramins[p], and even that of oxen particularly enjoined on solemn festivals.[q]

Bramins must not, indeed, eat flesh, unless at a sacrifice; but sacrifices, as has been seen, are among the daily sacraments; and rice pudding, bread, and many other things equally innocent, are included in the very same prohibition.[r]

It is true that humanity to animals is every where most strongly inculcated, and that abstaining from animal food is declared to be very meritorious, from its tendency to diminish their sufferings; but, though the use of it is dissuaded on these grounds[s], it is never once forbidden or hinted at as impure, and is in many places positively declared lawful.[t]

The permission to eat beef is the more remarkable, as the *cow* seems to have been as holy in those days as she is now. Saving the life of a cow was considered to atone for the murder of a Bramin[u]; killing one required to be expiated by three months' austerities and servile attendance on a herd of cattle.[v]

[p] Chap. V. 22—36. [q] Chap. V. 41, 42.

[r] Chap. V. 7. [s] Chap. V. 43—56.

[t] "He who eats according to law commits no sin, even if he every day tastes the flesh of such animals as may lawfully be tasted, since both animals which may be eaten, and those who eat them, were equally created by Brahmá." (V. 30.)

[u] Chap. XI. 80. [v] Chap. XI. 109—117.

Besides these restraints on eating, a Bramin is subjected to a multitude of minute regulations relating to the most ordinary occupations of life, the transgressing of any of which is nevertheless to be considered as a sin.

More than half of one book of the Code is filled with rules about purification.

The commonest cause of impurity is the death of a relation; and this, if he is near, lasts for ten days with a Bramin, and for a month with a Súdra. An infinity of contacts and other circumstances also pollute a man, and he is only purified by bathing, and other ceremonies, much too tedious to enumerate.[w] Some exceptions from these rules show a good sense which might not have been expected from the framers. A King can never be impure, nor those whom he wishes to be freed from this impediment to business. The hand of an artist employed in his trade is always pure; and so is every commodity when exposed to sale. The relations of a soldier slain in battle are not impure; and a soldier himself, who falls in the discharge of his duty, performs the highest of sacrifices, and is instantly freed from all impurities.[x] Of all pure things, none impart that quality better than purity in acquiring wealth, forgiveness of injuries, liberality, and devotion.[y]

Penances, as employed by the Hindús, hold a middle place between the ritual and moral branches

[w] Book V. 57. to the end. [x] Chap V. 93—98.
[y] Chap. V. 107.

of religion. They help to deter from crimes, but they are equally employed against breaches of religious form; and their application is at all times so irregular and arbitrary as to prevent their being so effectual as they should be in contributing to the well-being of society.

Drinking spirits is classed in the first degree of crime. Performing sacrifices to destroy the innocent only falls under the third.

Under the same penance with some real offences come giving pain to a Bramin and "smelling things not fit to be smelled."[z]

Some penances would, if compulsory, be punishments of the most atrocious cruelty. They are sufficiently absurd when left, as they are, to the will of the offenders, to be employed in averting exclusion from society in this world or retribution in the next. For incest with the wife of a father, natural or spiritual, or with a sister, connection with a child under the age of puberty, or with a woman of the lowest class, the penance is death by burning on an iron bed, or embracing a red-hot metal image.[a] For drinking spirits the penance is death by drinking the boiling hot urine of a cow.[b]

The other expiations are mostly made by fines and austerities. The fines are almost always in cattle to be given to Bramins, some as high as a bull and 1000 cows.

[z] Chap. XI. 55—68.
[a] Chap. XI. 104, 105. 171.
[b] Chap. XI. 92.

They, also, are oddly enough proportioned: for killing a snake a Bramin must give a hoe; for killing an eunuch, a load of rice straw.

Saying "hush" or "pish" to a superior, or overpowering a Bramin in argument, involve each a slight penance. Killing insects, and even cutting down plants and grass (if not for a useful purpose), require a penance; since plants also are supposed to be endued with feeling.[c]

One passage about expiation is characteristic in many ways. "A priest who should retain in his memory the whole Rig Véda would be absolved from all guilt, even if he had slain the inhabitants of the three worlds, *and had eaten food from the foulest hands*."[d]

Some of the penances, as well as some of the punishments under the criminal law, relate to pollutions which imply great corruption of manners in the people, or great impurity in the imagination of the lawgiver[e]; but they probably originate in the same perverted ingenuity which appears in some of the European casuists.

Others are of a more pleasing character, and tend to lessen our impression of the force of superstition even among the Bramins. A man who spends his money in gifts, even for his spiritual benefit, incurs misery hereafter if he have left his family in want.[f] Every man who has performed

[c] Chap. XI. 125. to the end.

[d] Chap. XI. 262.

[e] Chap. XI. 171—179, &c.

[f] Chap. XI. 9, 10.

BOOK I.

penance is legally restored to society; but all should avoid the communion of those whose offences were in themselves atrocious, among which are reckoned killing a suppliant and injuring a benefactor.[g]

Moral effect.

The effect of the religion of Menu on morals is, indeed, generally good. The essential distinction between right and wrong, it has been seen, is strongly marked at the outset, and is in general well preserved. The well-known passages relating to false evidence, one or two where the property of another may be appropriated for the purposes of sacrifice[h], and some laxity in the means by which a King may detect and seize offenders[i], are the only exceptions I recollect.

On the other hand, there are numerous injunctions to justice, truth, and virtue; and many are the evils, both in this world and the next, which are said to follow from vicious conduct. The upright man need not be cast down though oppressed with penury, while "the unjust man attains no felicity, nor he whose wealth proceeds from false evidence."[k]

The moral duties are in one place distinctly declared to be superior to the ceremonial ones.[l] The punishments of a future state are as much directed against the offences which disturb society as against sins affecting religion.

[g] Chap. XI. 190, 191.
[h] Chap. XI. 11—19.
[i] Chap. IX. 256—269.
[k] Chap. IV. 170—179.
[l] Chap. IV. 204.

One maxim, however, on this subject, is of a less laudable tendency; for it declares that the men who receive from the government the punishment due to their crimes go pure to heaven, and become as clean as those who have done well.[m]

It may be observed, in conclusion, that the morality thus enjoined by the law was not, as now, sapped by the example of fabled gods, or by the debauchery permitted in the religious ceremonies of certain sects.

From many passages cited in different places, it has been shown that the Code is not by any means deficient in generous maxims or in elevated sentiments; but the general tendency of the Bramin morality is rather towards innocence than active virtue, and its main objects are to enjoy tranquillity, and to prevent pain or evil to any sentient being.

[m] Chap. VIII. 318.

## CHAP. V.

### MANNERS AND STATE OF CIVILISATION.

BOOK I.

State of women.

In inquiring into the manners of a nation, our attention is first attracted to the condition of the women. This may be gathered from the laws relating to marriage, as well as from incidental regulations or observations which undesignedly exhibit the views under which the sex was regarded.

The laws relating to marriage, as has been seen, though in some parts they bear strong traces of a rude age, are not on the whole unfavourable to the weaker party. The state of women in other respects is such as might be expected from those laws.

A wife is to be entirely obedient and devoted to her husband, who is to keep her under legal restrictions, but to leave her at her own disposal in innocent and lawful recreations.[a] When she has no husband, she is to be in a state of similar dependence on her male relations[b]; but, on the other hand, the husband and all the male relations are strictly enjoined to honour the women: "where women are dishonoured, all religious acts become fruitless;"—"where female relations are made miserable, the family very soon wholly perishes;"

[a] Chap. IX. 2, &c.

[b] Chap. V. 147, &c.

but "where a husband is contented with his wife, and she with her husband, in that house will fortune assuredly be permanent." The husband's indulgence to his wife is even regulated on points which seem singular in a code of laws; among these it is enjoined that she be "constantly supplied with ornaments, apparel, and food, at festivals and jubilees."[c]

Widows are also under the particular protection of the law. Their male relations are positively forbidden to interfere with their property. (III. 52.) The King is declared the guardian of widows and single women, and is directed to punish relations who encroach on their fortunes as thieves. (VIII. 28, 29.)

There is little about domestic manners except as relates to the Bramins, and they, as usual, are placed under austere and yet puerile restrictions. A man of that class must not eat with his wife, nor look at her eating, or yawning, or sitting carelessly, or when setting off her eyes with black powder, or on many other occasions.[d]

In all classes women are to be "employed in the collection and expenditure of wealth; in purification and female duty; in the preparation of daily food, and the superintendence of household utensils."

"By confinement at home, even under affectionate and observant guardians, they are not

[c] Chap. III. 55—61. [d] Chap. IV. 43, &c.

secure; but those women are truly secure who are guarded by their own inclinations."[e]

There is not the least mention of Sattis; indeed, as the widows of Bramins are enjoined to lead a virtuous, austere, and holy life[f], it is plain that their burning with their husbands was never thought of.

The only suicides authorised in the Code are for a Bramin hermit suffering under an incurable disease, who is permitted to proceed towards a certain point of the heavens with no sustenance but water, until he dies of exhaustion[g]; and for a King, who, when he finds his end draw near, is to bestow such wealth as he may have gained by legal fines on the Bramins, commit his kingdom to his son, and seek death in battle, or, if there be no war, by abstaining from food.[h]

Manners.

Few more particulars can be gleaned regarding manners. The strict celibacy imposed on the Bramin youths seems to have excited a just distrust of their continence: a student who is enjoined to perform personal services, and to kiss the feet of his spiritual father's other near relations, is directed to omit those duties in the case of his young wife; he is desired to be always on his

[e] Chap. IX. 11, 12.

[f] Chap. V. 156—158.

[g] Chap. VI. 31.

[h] Chap. IX. 323. It is singular that the practice of self-immolation by fire, which is stated by Mr. Colebrooke (*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 458.) to have been authorised by the Védas, and is related by the ancients to have been practised by Calanus, is nowhere mentioned in the Code.

guard when in company with women, and to beware how he trusts himself in a sequestered place even with those who should be the most sacred in his eyes.[i]

Some notion of the pleasures most indulged in may be formed from those against which a King is cautioned (VII. 47.). Among them are hunting, gaming, sleeping by day, excess with women, intoxication, singing, instrumental music, dancing, and useless travel. Some little light is also thrown on manners, by the much-frequented places where thieves, quacks, fortune-tellers, and other impostors are said to haunt. They include cisterns of water, bakehouses, the lodgings of harlots, taverns and victualling shops, squares where four ways meet, large well-known trees, assemblies, and public spectacles.

Minute rules are given for the forms of salutation and civility to persons of all classes, and in all relations.

Great respect is inculcated for parents[k] and for age; for learning and moral conduct, as well as for wealth and rank. "Way must be made for a man in a wheeled carriage, or above ninety years old, or afflicted with disease, or carrying a burden, for a woman, for a priest (in certain cases), for a prince, and for a bridegroom."[l]

I scarcely know where to place, so as to do justice to the importance assigned to it in the Code,

[i] Chap. II. 211—215.

[k] Chap. II. 225—237.

[l] Chap. II. 130—138.

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the respect enjoined to *immemorial custom.* It is declared to be "transcendent law," and "the root of all piety."[m] It is, indeed, to this day the vital spirit of the Hindú system, and the immediate cause of the permanence of these institutions. Learning is greatly honoured throughout the Code, and the cultivation of it is recommended to all classes. It is true the Védas, and the commentaries on them, with a few other books, are the only ones to which the student is directed; but he is to learn theology, logic, ethics, and physical science from those works[n]; and we know that those subjects are discussed in the tracts appended to each Véda: each is also accompanied by a treatise entirely relating to astronomy; and, from the early excellence of the Bramins in all these branches of learning, it is probable that they had made considerable progress even when this Code was formed.

Arts of life.

The arts of life, though still in a simple state, were far from being in a rude one. Gold and gems, silks and ornaments, are spoken of as being in all families.[o] Elephants, horses, and chariots are familiar as conveyances for men, as are cattle, camels, and waggons for goods. Gardens, bowers, and terraces are mentioned; and the practice, still subsisting, of the construction of ponds and orchards by wealthy men for the public benefit, is here, perhaps, first enjoined.[p] Cities are seldom

[m] Chap. I. 108—110.
[n] Chap. XII. 98. 105, 106.
[o] Chap. V. 111, 112.; VII. 130.
[p] Chap. IV. 226.

alluded to, nor are there any regulations or any officers beyond the wants of an agricultural township. The only great cities were, probably, the capitals.

The professions mentioned show all that is necessary to civilised life, but not all required for high refinement. Though gems and golden ornaments were common, embroiderers and similar workmen, who put those materials to the most delicate uses, are not alluded to; and painting and writing could scarcely have attained the cultivation which they reached in after times, when they were left among the trades open to a Súdra in times of distress.

Money is often mentioned, but it does not appear whether its value was ascertained by weight or fixed by coining. The usual payments are in *panas*, the name *now* applied to a certain number of the shells called couris, which are used as change for the lowest copper coins.

The number of kinds of grain, spices, perfumes, and other productions, are proofs of a highly cultivated country; and the code in general presents the picture of a peaceful and flourishing community. Some of the features which seem to indicate misgovernment are undiminished at the present day, but affect the society in a far less degree than would seem possible to a distant observer.

On the other hand, the frequent allusions to times of distress give ground for a suspicion that

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the famines, which even now are sometimes the scourge of India, were more frequent in ancient times. There is no trace of nomadic tribes, such as still subsist in most Asiatic countries.

General remarks.

Of all ancient nations, the Egyptians are the one whom the Hindús seem most to have resembled; but our knowledge of that people is too limited to reflect light on any other with which they might be compared.[q]

It might be easier to compare them with the Greeks, as painted by Homer, who was nearly contemporary with the compilation of the Code; and, however inferior in spirit and energy, as well as in elegance, to that heroic race, yet, on contrasting their law and forms of administration, the state of the arts of life, and the general spirit of order and obedience to the laws, the eastern nation seems clearly to have been in the more advanced stage of society. Their internal institutions were less rude; their conduct to their enemies more humane; their general learning was much more considerable; and, in the knowledge of the being and nature of God, they were already in possession of a light which was but faintly perceived even by the loftiest intellects in the best days of Athens. Yet the Greeks were polished by free communication with many nations, and have recorded the improvements which they early derived from each;

[q] The particular points of resemblance are set forth by Heeren — *Historical Researches* (Asiatic Nations), vol. iii. p. 411. to the end.

CHAP. V.

while the Hindú civilisation grew up alone, and thus acquired an original and peculiar character, that continues to spread an interest over the higher stages of refinement to which its unaided efforts afterwards enabled it to attain. It may, however, be doubted, whether this early and independent civilisation was not a misfortune to the Hindús; for, seeing themselves superior to all the tribes of whom they had knowledge, they learned to despise the institutions of foreigners, and to revere their own, until they became incapable of receiving improvement from without, and averse to novelties even amongst themselves.

Origin of the Hindús and formation of their society.

On looking back to the information collected from the Code, we observe the three twice-born classes forming the whole community embraced by the law, and the Súdras in a servile and degraded condition. Yet it appears that there are cities governed by Súdra kings, in which Bramins are advised not to reside[r], and that there are "whole territories inhabited by Súdras, overwhelmed with atheists, and deprived of Bramins."[s]

The three twice-born classes are directed invariably to dwell in the country between the Himáwat[t] and the Vindya mountains[u], from the eastern to the western ocean.

[r] Chap. IV. 61. [s] Chap. VIII. 22.

[t] Hémaláya.

[u] Still so called, and forming the boundaries of Hindostan Proper, on the south, as Hémaláya does on the north. The legislator must have had an indistinct idea of the eastern termination of the range.

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But, though the three chief classes are confined to this tract, a Súdra distressed for subsistence may sojourn wherever he chooses.[v]

It seems impossible not to conclude from all this, that the twice-born men were a conquering people; that the servile class were the subdued aborigines; and that the independent Súdra towns were in such of the small territories, into which Hindostan was divided, as still retained their independence, while the whole of the tract beyond the Vindya mountains remained as yet untouched by the invaders, and unpenetrated by their religion.

A doubt, however, soon suggests itself, whether the conquerors were a foreign people, or a local tribe, like the Dorians in Greece; or whether, indeed, they were not merely a portion of one of the native states (a religious sect, for instance) which had outstripped their fellow citizens in knowledge, and appropriated all the advantages of the society to themselves.

The different appearance of the higher classes from the Súdras, which is so observable to this day, might incline us to think them foreigners; but, without entirely denying this argument, (as far, at least, as relates to the Bramins and Cshetryas,) we must advert to some considerations which greatly weaken its force.

The class most unlike the Bramins are the

[v] Chap. II. 21—24.

Chándalas, who are, nevertheless, originally the offspring of a Bramin mother; and who might have been expected to have preserved their resemblance to their parent stock, as, from the very lowness of their cast, they are prevented mixing with any race but their own. Difference of habits and employments is, of itself, sufficient to create as great a dissimilarity as exists between the Bramin and the Súdra; and the hereditary separation of professions in India would contribute to keep up and to increase such a distinction.[w]

It is opposed to their foreign origin, that neither in the Code, nor, I believe, in the Védas, nor in any book that is certainly older than the Code, is there any allusion to a prior residence, or to a knowledge of more than the name of any country out of India. Even mythology goes no further than the Hémaláya chain, in which is fixed the habitation of the gods.

The common origin of the Shanscrit language with those of the west leaves no doubt that there was once a connection between the nations by whom they are used; but it proves nothing regarding the place where such a connection subsisted, nor about the time, which might have been in so early a stage of their society as to pre-

[w] Observe the difference which even a few years can produce between two individuals, who were alike when they began life; between a soldier of a well-disciplined regiment, for instance, and a man of the least active and healthy of the classes in a manufacturing town.

vent its throwing any light on the history of the individual nations. To say that it spread from a central point is a gratuitous assumption, and even contrary to analogy; for emigration and civilisation have not spread in a circle, but from east to west. Where, also, could the central point be, from which a language could spread over India, Greece, and Italy, and yet leave Chaldea, Syria, and Arabia untouched?

The question, therefore, is still open. There is no reason whatever for thinking that the Hindús ever inhabited any country but their present one; and as little for denying that they may have done so before the earliest trace of their records or traditions. Assuming that they were a conquering tribe, we may suppose the progress of their society to have been something like the following: that the richer or more warlike members continued to confine themselves to the profession of arms: that the less eminent betook themselves to agriculture, arts, and commerce: that the priests were, at first, individuals who took advantage of the superstition of their neighbours, and who may have transmitted their art and office to their sons, but did not form a separate class: that the separation of classes by refusing to intermarry originated in the pride of the military body, and was imitated by the priests: that the conquered people were always a class apart, at first cultivating the land for the conquerors, and afterwards converted by the interest and convenience of their masters into free tenants:

that the government was in the hands of the military leaders, and probably exercised by one chief: that the chief availed himself of the aid of the priests in planning laws and obtaining a religious sanction to them: that the priests, as they rose into consequence, began to combine and act in concert: that they invented the genealogy of casts, and other fables, to support the existing institutions, and to introduce such alterations as they thought desirable: that, while they raised the power of the chief to the highest pitch, they secured as much influence to their own order as could be got without creating jealousy or destroying the ascendency they derived from the public opinion of their austerity and virtue: that the first Code framed was principally a record of existing usages; and may have been compiled by a private person, and adopted for convenience; or may have been drawn up by Bramins of influence, and passed off as an ancient revelation from the Divinity: that, as changes arose in the progress of society, or in the policy of the rulers, alterations were made in the law, and new codes formed incorporating the old one; but that, at length, the text of the Code became fixed, and all subsequent changes were introduced in the form of glosses on the original, or of new laws promulgated by the royal authority. To all appearance, the present Code was not compiled until long after the community had passed the earliest stages of civilisation.

BOOK I.

Peculiarities relating to the Bramins.

In making a general review of the Code, we are struck with two peculiarities in its relation to the class of Bramins by whom it seems to have been planned. The first is the little importance attached by them to the direction of public worship and religious ceremonies of all sorts. Considering the reverence derived by the ministers of religion from their apparent mediation between the laity and the Divinity, and also the power that might be obtained by means of oracles, and other modes of deception, it might rather have been expected that such means of influence should be neglected by the priesthood, in the security arising from long possession of temporal authority, than renounced in an early Code, the main object of which is to confirm and increase the power of the Bramins.

The effects of this neglect are also deserving of observation. It was natural that the degradation of public worship should introduce the indifference now so observable in the performance of it; but it is surprising that the regular practice of it by all classes should still be kept up at all; and that, on some occasions, as pilgrimages, festivals, &c., it should be able to kindle enthusiasm.

The second peculiarity is the regulation of all the actions of life, in a manner as strict and minute as could be enforced in a single convent, maintained over so numerous a body of men as the Bramins, scattered through an extensive region, living with their families like other citizens, and subject to no common chief or council, and to no

form of ecclesiastical government or subordination. Various causes contributed to support this discipline, which, at first, seems to have been left to chance,—the superstitious reverence for the divine law, which must in time have been felt even by the class whose progenitors invented it; their strict system of early education; the penances enjoined by religion, perhaps enforced by the aid of the civil authority; the force of habit and public opinion after the rules had obtained the sanction of antiquity; but, above all, the vigilance of the class itself, excited by a knowledge of the necessity of discipline for the preservation of their power, and by that intense feeling of the common interest of the class which never, perhaps, was so deeply seated as in the heart of a Bramin.

In spite of these forces, however, the Bramin discipline has gradually declined. Their rules have been neglected in cases where the temptation was strong, or the risk of loss of influence not apparent, until the diminished sanctity of their character has weakened their power, and has thrown a considerable portion of it into the hands of men of other classes, who form the great body of the monastic orders.

# BOOK II.

## CHANGES SINCE MENU, AND STATE OF THE HINDÚS IN LATER TIMES.

BOOK II.

THOUGH the Hindús have preserved their customs more entire than any other people with whom we are acquainted, and for a period exceeding that recorded of any other nation; yet it is not to be supposed that changes have not taken place in the lapse of twenty-five centuries.

I shall now attempt to point out those changes; and, although it may not always be possible to distinguish such of them as may be of Mahometan origin, I shall endeavour to confine my account to those features, whether in religion, government, or manners, which still characterise the Hindús.

I shall preserve the same order as in the Code, and shall commence with the present state of the classes.

# CHAP. I.

## CHANGES IN CAST.

CHAP. I.

Changes in the four great classes.

It is, perhaps, in the division and employment of the classes that the greatest alterations have been made since Menu.

Those of Cshetriya and Veisya, perhaps even of Súdra, are alleged by the Bramins to be extinct; a decision which is by no means acquiesced in by those immediately concerned. The Rájpúts still loudly assert the purity of their descent from the Cshetriyas, and some of the industrious classes claim the same relation to the Veisyas. The Bramins, however, have been almost universally successful, so far as to exclude the other classes from access to the Védas, and to confine all learning, human and divine, to their own body.

The Bramins themselves, although they have preserved their own lineage undisputed, have, in a great measure, departed from the rules and practice of their predecessors. In some particulars they are more strict than formerly, being denied the use of animal food*, and restrained from inter-

* Some casts of Bramins in Hindostan eat certain descriptions of flesh that has been offered in sacrifice. In such circumstances flesh is everywhere lawful food; but, in the Deckan, this sort of sacrifice is so rare that probably few Bramins ever witnessed it.

marriages with the inferior classes; but in most respects their practice is greatly relaxed. The whole of the fourfold division of their life, with all the restraints imposed on students, hermits, and abstracted devotees, is now laid aside as regards the community; though individuals, at their choice, may still adopt some one of the modes of life which formerly were to be gone through in turn by all.

Bramins now enter into service, and are to be found in all trades and professions. The portion of them supported by charity, according to the original system, is quite insignificant in proportion to the whole. It is common to see them as husbandmen, and, still more, as soldiers; and even of those trades which are expressly forbidden to them under severe penalties, they only scruple to exercise the most degraded, and in some places not even those.* In the south of India, however, their peculiar secular occupations are those connected with writing and public business. From the minister of state down to the village accountant, the greater number of situations of this sort are in their hands, as is all interpretation of the Hindú law, a large share of the ministry of religion, and many employments (such as farmers of the revenue, &c.), where a knowledge of writing and of business is required.

In the parts of Hindostan where the Mogul

* Ward, vol. i. p. 87.

system was fully introduced, the use of the Persian language has thrown public business into the hands of Mussulmans and Cáyets.* Even in the Nizam's territories in the Deckan the same cause has in some degree diminished the employment of the Bramins; but still they must be admitted to have everywhere a more avowed share in the government than in the time of Menu's Code, when one Bramin counsellor, together with the judges, made the whole of their portion in the direct enjoyment of power.

It might be expected that this worldly turn of their pursuits would deprive the Bramins of some part of their religious influence; and accordingly it is stated by a very high authority† that (in the provinces on the Ganges, at least) they are null as a hierarchy, and as a literary body few and little countenanced. Even in the direction of the consciences of families and of individuals they have there been supplanted by Gosáyens and other monastic orders.‡

Yet even in Bengal they appear still to be the objects of veneration and of profuse liberality to the laity.§ The ministry of most temples, and the conduct of religious ceremonies, must still remain with them; and in some parts of India no dimi-

* A cast of Súdras; see page 108. of this volume.

† Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. pp. 310, 311.

‡ Ibid. vol. xvii. p. 311.

§ Ward's Hindoos, vol. i. p. 68—71.

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nution whatever can be perceived in their spiritual authority. Such is certainly the case in the Maratta country, and would appear to be so likewise in the west of Hindostan.* The temporal influence derived from their numbers, affluence, and rank, subsists in all parts; but, even where the Bramins have retained their religious authority, they have lost much of their popularity. This seems to be particularly the case among the Rájpúts†, and is still more so among the Marattas, who have not forgiven their being supplanted in the government of their country by a class whom they regard as their inferiors in the military qualities which alone, in their estimation, entitle men to command.

Mixed classes.

The two lowest classes that existed in Menu's time are now replaced by a great number of casts of mixed, and sometimes obscure, descent, who, nevertheless, maintain their divisions with greater strictness than the ancient classes were accustomed to do, neither eating together, nor intermarrying, nor partaking in common rites. In the neighbourhood of Púna, where they are probably not particularly numerous, there are about 150 different casts.‡ These casts, in many cases, coincide with trades; the goldsmiths forming one cast, the car-

* Tod's Rajasthan, vol. i. pp. 511, 512.

† Ibid.; and see also *Malcolm's Central India*, vol. ii. p. 124.

‡ Steele, *Summary of the Laws and Customs of Hindoo Casts*, preface, p. xi.

penters another, &c. This is conformable to Menu, who assigns to each of the mixed classes an hereditary occupation.

The enforcement of the rules of cast is still strict, but capricious. If a person of low cast were to step on the space of ground cleared out by one of the higher classes for cooking, the owner would immediately throw away his untasted meal, even if he had not the means of procuring another.

The loss of cast is faintly described by saying that it is civil death. A man not only cannot inherit, nor contract, nor give evidence, but he is excluded from all the intercourse of private life, as well as from the privileges of a citizen. He must not be admitted into his father's house; his nearest relations must not communicate with him; and he is deprived of all the consolations of religion in this life, and all hope of happiness in that which is to follow. Unless, however, cast be lost for an enormous offence, or for long continued breach of rules, it can always be regained by expiation; and the means of recovering it must be very easy, for the effects of the loss of it are now scarcely observable. It occurs, no doubt, and prosecutions are not unfrequent in our courts for unjust exclusion from cast; but in a long residence in India I do not remember ever to have met with or heard of an individual placed in the circumstances which I have described.

The greatest change of all is, that there no longer exists a servile class. There are still præ-

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dial slaves in the south of India, and some of the mountain and forest districts elsewhere. These may possibly be the remains of the ancient Súdras, but in other parts of the country all *classes* are free. Domestic slaves form no exception, being individuals of any class reduced by particular circumstances to bondage.

Though scrupulous genealogists dispute the existence of pure Súdras at the present day, yet many descriptions of people are admitted to be such even by the Bramins. The whole of the Marattas, for instance, belong to that class. The proper occupation of a Súdra is now thought to be agriculture; but he is not confined to that employment, for many are soldiers; and the Cáyets, who have been mentioned as rivalling the Bramins in business and every thing connected with the pen, are (in Bengal at least) pure Súdras, to whom their profession has descended from ancient times.*

The institution of casts, though it exercises a most pernicious influence on the progress of the nation, has by no means so great an effect in obstructing the enterprise of individuals as European writers are apt to suppose. There is, indeed, scarcely any part of the world where changes of condition are so sudden and so striking as in India.†

* Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 58.

† The last Péshwa had, at different times, two prime ministers: one of them had been either an officiating priest or a singer in a temple (both degrading employments), and the other was a Súdra, and originally a running footman. The

A new cast may be said to have been introduced by the establishment of the monastic orders.

Monastic orders.

The origin of these communities can only be touched on as a matter of speculation.

By the rules of Menu's Code, a Bramin in the fourth stage of his life, after having passed through a period of solitude and mortification as an anchoret*, is released from all formal observances, and permitted to devote his time to contemplation. It is probable that persons so situated might assemble for the purpose of religious discussion, and that men of superior endowments to the rest might collect a number of hearers, who would live around them without forming any religious community. Such, at least, was the progress from single monks to cenobites, among the early Christians. The assemblies of these inquirers might in time be attended by disciples, who, though not Bramins, were of the classes to whom the study of theology was permitted, each, however, living independently, according to the practice of his own class. This would seem to be the stage to which

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Rája of Jeipúr's prime minister was a barber. The founder of the reigning family of Hólcar was a goatherd; and that of Sindia, a menial servant; and both were Súdras. The great family of Rástia, in the Maratta country, first followed the natural occupations of Bramins, then became great bankers, and, at length, military commanders. Many similar instances of elevation might be quoted. The changes of professions in private life are less observable; but the first good Hindú miniature painter, in the European manner, was a blacksmith.

* See p. 27. of this volume.

these religious institutions had attained in the time of Alexander, though there are passages in the early Greek writers from which it might be inferred that they had advanced still further towards the present model of regular monastic orders.* Unless that evidence be thought sufficient, we have no means of conjecturing at what period those assemblages formed themselves into religious communities, subject to rules of their own, distinct from those of their respective classes. The earliest date to which the foundation of any monastic order can be traced in the Hindú books is the eighth century of our æra; and few of those now in existence are older than the fourteenth.† Some orders are still composed of Bramins alone, and a few among *them* may be regarded as the representatives of the original societies adverted to in the last page; but the distinguishing peculiarity of the great majority of the orders is, that all distinctions of cast are levelled on admission. Bramins break their sacerdotal thread; and Cshétryas, Veisyas, and Súdras renounce their own class on entering an order, and all become *equal* members of their new community. This bold innovation is supposed

* See Appendix III. It appears, in the same place, that these assemblies included persons performing the penances enjoined to Bramins of the third stage of life (or anchorets), who, by the strict rule laid down for them, were bound to live in solitude and silence.

† It may, perhaps, be construed into an indication of the existence of such orders in Menu's time, that in Book V. v. 89. funeral rites are denied to heretics, *who wear a dress of religion unauthorised by the Veda.*

by Professor Wilson to have been adopted about the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.

The Hindú orders do not present the same regular aspect as similar fraternities in Europe, and do not so easily furnish marked characteristics to distinguish them from the rest of mankind or from each other. There is not even a general name for the class, though that of Gosáyen (which, in strictness, should be confined to one subdivision) is usually applied to the whole. They can all be recognised by their dress, as all wear some part of their clothes (generally the turban and scarf) of a dirty orange colour, except a few, who go quite naked; all are bound by some vows; and all accept (though all do not solicit) charity.

These are, perhaps, the only particulars which can be asserted of them all; but by far the greater number have many other features in common. An order generally derives its character from a particular spiritual instructor, whose doctrines it maintains, and by whose rules of life the members are bound. Many of these founders of orders have been likewise founders of sects; for which reason, the tenets of Gosáyens are seldom purely orthodox. They vary greatly in numbers, some being confined to a small knot of votaries in one part of the country, and others spread in numbers over all India.

Most of them possess convents, to which, in some cases, landed property is attached. They

derive an additional income from the contributions of devout persons, from money collected by begging, and, in many cases, from trade, which is often carried on openly, but more frequently in a covert manner. These convents are all under a mohant (or abbot) who is generally elected by his own community or by the other mohants of the order; but who is sometimes hereditary, and often named by his predecessor. Admission into an order is not given until after a probation of a year or two. The novice is, in a manner, adopted by a particular instructor, or guru, who has often several such disciples; all subject, as well as the guru himself, to the head of the convent. One order in Bengal admits of males and females living in one convent, but under strict vows of chastity.

Many of the Gosáyens who belong to convents nevertheless spend much of their lives in wandering about, and subsist by begging. Other Gosáyens lead an entirely erratic life; in some cases still subordinate to mohants, and, in others, quite independent and free from all rules, except such as they impose on themselves. But among these last are to be found some of the most austere religionists; those, in particular, who retire to the heart of forests, and live entirely unconnected with mankind, exposed to the chance of famine, if no charitable person should think of them, and to still greater danger from the beasts of prey that alone inhabit those wild and solitary tracts.*

* Mr. Ward on the Hindoos, vol. iii. p. 342.; where he

Few of the orders are under very strict vows; and they have no attendance on chapels, general fasts, vigils, or other monkish observances. Most are bound to celibacy; but many allow their members to marry, and to reside with their families like laymen. One order, particularly devoted to Crishna in his infant form, hold it to be their duty to indulge in costly apparel and choice food, and to partake of every description of innocent enjoyment; and these tenets are so far from lowering their character that their influence with their followers is unbounded, and they are amply supplied with the means of living according to their liberal notions of religious duty.

Some orders, however, differ widely from these last: such are those of which individuals hold up one or both arms until they become fixed in that position, and until the nails grow through the hands; those who lie on beds of spikes, who vow perpetual silence, and who expose themselves to other voluntary mortifications.

Some few affect every sort of filth and pollution, and extort alms by the disgust which their presence creates, or by gashing their limbs with knives.

Others, as has been said, go naked, and many nearly so. Of this description are the Nágas, who serve as mercenary soldiers, often to the number of several thousands, under their own leaders.

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states that he was informed, on a spot on Ságar island, that six of these hermits had been carried off by tigers in the preceding three months.

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These people do not profess to take arms for the advancement of their religion, but serve any chief for hire; and are, in general, men of violent and profligate habits, but with the reputation of desperate courage. Their naked limbs smeared with ashes, their shaggy beards, and their matted hair, artificially increased and twisted round the head, give a striking appearance to these martial devotees. When not hired, they have been known to wander about the country, in large bands, plundering and levying contributions. In former days the British possessions were more than once threatened or invaded by such marauders.

But these armed monks sometimes assemble in great numbers, without being formed into bands or associated for military service; and the meeting of large bodies of opposite sects has often led to sanguinary conflicts. At the great fair at Hardwár, in 1760, an affray, or rather a battle, took place between the Nágas of Síva and those of Vishnu, in which it was stated, on the spot, that 18,000 persons were left dead on the field.* The amount must, doubtless, have been absurdly exaggerated, but it serves to give an idea of the numbers engaged.

One description of Gosáyens, of the sect of Síva, are Yógis (see p. 224.); and attempt, by meditation, and by holding in the breath, and other mummeries, to procure a union with the Divinity. The lowest of this class pretend to work miracles; and some are even professed mountebanks, who go

* Captain Raper, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 455.

about the country with monkeys and musical instruments, and amuse the populace with juggling and other tricks of dexterity. Another sort is much more remarkable. These profess to be enthusiastic devotees, and practise their imposture, not for money, but to increase their reputation for sanctity. Among them are persons who manage, by some contrivance hitherto unexplained, to remain seated, for many minutes, in the air, at as great a distance from the ground as four feet, with no other *apparent* support but what they derive from slightly resting on a sort of crutch with the back of one hand, the fingers of which are all the time employed in counting their beads.*

Among the Gosáyens there are, or have been, some few learned men: many are decent and inoffensive religionists, and many respectable merchants; but many, also, are shameless and importunate beggars, and worthless vagabonds of all descriptions, attracted to the order by the idle and wandering life which it admits of. In general, the followers of Vishnu are the most respectable, and those of Síva the most infected by the offensive qualities of the class. It is to the credit of the good sense of the Hindús that these devotees fall off in public esteem exactly in proportion to the extravagance and eccentricity of their observances.

* The most authentic account of one of these is quoted by Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 186., from a statement by an eye-witness in the *Asiatic Monthly Journal* for March, 1829.

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The veneration of some of the Váishnava sectarians for their mendicant directors is carried to an almost incredible pitch. In Bengal, some of them consider their spiritual guide as of superior importance, and entitled to greater regard than their deity himself.* The want of a common head to the Hindú religion accounts for the lax discipline of many orders, and the total absence of rules among single Beirágis and Yógis, and such lawless assemblages as those formed by the military Nágas.

The same circumstance has preserved the independence of these orders, and prevented their falling, like the monks of Europe, under the authority of the ecclesiastical body; and to their independence is to be ascribed the want of concord between them and the sacerdotal class. The rivalry thus engendered might have produced more serious effects; but the influence which the Bramins derive from their possession of the literature and law of their nation has had an operation on the orders, as it has on other Hindús; and, in recognising the Code of Menu, and the religious traditions of their country, they could not withhold their acknowledgment of the high station to which the class had raised itself by the authority of those writings.

* Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 119. The above account is chiefly from Professor Wilson's essay in vols. xvi. and xvii. of the *Asiatic Researches;* with some particulars from *Ward's Hindoos*, and some from the account of the Gosáyens in the Appendix to *Steele's Summary*. See Appendix, on "Changes in Cast."

## CHAP. II.

### CHANGES IN THE GOVERNMENT.

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THE modern Hindú government differs from that described by Menu, less in consequence of any deliberate alterations, than of a relaxation of the systematic form which was recommended by the old lawgiver, and which, perhaps, was at no time exactly conformed to in the actual practice of any state.

**Administration.**

The chief has no longer a fixed number of ministers and a regular council. He has naturally some heads of departments, and occasionally consults them and his prime minister, on matters affecting the peculiar province of each.

**Revenue divisions.**

Traces of all the revenue divisions of Menu *, under lords of 10 towns, lords of 100, and lords of 1000 towns, are still to be found, especially in the Deckan; but the only one which remains entire is that called Perganneh, which answers to the lordship of 100 towns. Even the officers of the old system are still kept up in those divisions, and receive a remuneration in lands and fees; but they

* As many of the notes on this account of the revenue system are long, and not required for a general understanding of the subject, I have thought it best to place them in an Appendix, to which reference will be made by letters of the alphabet.

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are no longer the active agents of the government, and are only employed to keep the records of all matters connected with land. (A) It is generally supposed that these officers fell into disuse after the Mahometan conquest; but as, like every thing Hindú, they became hereditary, and liable to division among heirs, the sovereign, Hindú as well as Mussulman, must have felt their inadequacy to fulfil the objects they were designed for, and the necessity of replacing them by officers of his own choosing, on whom he could rely.

At present, even Hindú territories are divided into governments of various extent, which are again divided and subdivided, as convenience requires. The King names the governors of the great divisions, and the governor chooses his own deputies for those subordinate.

The governor unites all the functions of administration; there being no longer military divisions as in Menu's time; and no courts of justice, but at the capital (if there).

But among all these changes, the townships remain entire, and are the indestructible atoms, from an aggregate of which the most extensive Indian empires are composed.

Description of a township.

A township is a compact piece of land, varying in extent, inhabited by a single community. The boundaries are accurately defined and jealously guarded. The lands may be of all descriptions; those actually under cultivation and those neglected; arable lands never yet cultivated; and land

which is altogether incapable of cultivation. These lands are divided into portions, the boundaries of which are as carefully marked as those of the township; and the names, qualities, extent, and proprietors of which are minutely entered in the records of the community. The inhabitants are all assembled in a village within the limits, which in many parts of India is fortified, or protected by a little castle or citadel.

Its privileges.

Each township conducts its own internal affairs. It levies on its members the revenue due to the state; and is collectively responsible for the payment of the full amount. It manages its police, and is answerable for any property plundered within its limits. It administers justice to its own members, as far as punishing small offences, and deciding disputes in the first instance. It taxes itself, to provide funds for its internal expenses; such as repairs of the walls and temple, and the cost of public sacrifices and charities, as well as of some ceremonies and amusements on festivals.

It is provided with the requisite officers for conducting all those duties, and with various others adapted to the wants of the inhabitants; and, though entirely subject to the general government, is in many respects an organised commonwealth, complete within itself. This independence, and its concomitant privileges, though often violated by the government, are never denied: they afford some little protection against a tyrannical ruler,

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and maintain order within their own limits, even when the general government has been dissolved.

I quote the following extract from a minute of Sir Charles Metcalfe, as well for the force of his language as the weight of his authority.

" The village communities are little republics, having nearly every thing they can want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindoo, Patan, Mogul, Mahratta, Sik, English, are all masters in turn; but the village community remains the same. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves: an hostile army passes through the country: the village communities collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and devastation be directed against themselves, and the force employed be irresistible, they flee to friendly villages at a distance; but, when the storm has passed over, they return and resume their occupations. If a country remain for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that the villages cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the places of their fathers; the same site for the village, the same positions for the houses, the same lands will be reoccupied by the descendants of

those who were driven out when the village was depopulated; and it is not a trifling matter that will drive them out, for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and convulsion, and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence." *

Government of a township by one head.

A township in its simplest form is under a Headman (B), who is only spoken of in Menu as an agent of the King, and may have been removable at his pleasure. His office has now become hereditary; and though he is still regarded as an officer of the King, he is really more the representative of the people. The selection of an individual from the proper family rests sometimes with the village community, and oftener with the government; but to be useful to either he must possess the confidence of both. He holds a portion of land, and receives an annual allowance from the government; but the greater part of his income is derived from fees paid by the villagers. So far is he identified with the village, that he is held per-

* Sir C. T. Metcalfe, *Report of Select Committee of House of Commons*, 1832, vol. iii. Appendix 84. p. 331.

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sonally responsible for its engagements, and thrown into prison in all cases of resistance or failure of the revenue.

Duties of the headman.

The headman settles with the government the sum to be paid to it for the year; and apportions the payment among the villagers according to the extent and tenures of their lands. He also lets such lands as have no fixed occupants, partitions the water for irrigation, settles disputes, apprehends offenders, and sends them to the government officer of the district; and, in short, does all the duties of municipal government.

All this is done in public, at a place appropriated for the purpose; and, on all points affecting the public interest, in free consultation with the villagers. In civil disputes the headman is assisted by arbitrators named by the parties, or by assessors of his own choice. His office confers a great deal of respectability with all the country people, as well as influence in his own village. It is saleable; but the owner seldom parts with it entirely, reserving the right of presiding at certain ceremonies and other honorary privileges, when compelled to dispose of all the solid advantages.

Village establishment; the accountant, watchman, &c.

The headman is assisted by different officers, of whom the accountant and the watchman are the most important.

The accountant (C) keeps the village records, which contain a full description of the nature of the lands of the village, with the names of the former and present holders, the rent, and other

terms of occupancy. He also keeps the accounts of the village community and those of the villagers individually, both with the government and with each other. He acts as notary in drawing up deeds for them, and writes private letters for those who require such a service. He is paid by fees on the inhabitants, and sometimes has an allowance or an assignment of land from the government.

The watchman (D) is the guardian of boundaries, public and private. He watches the crops, is the public guide and messenger, and is, next to the headman, the principal officer of police. In this capacity he keeps watch at night, observes all arrivals and departures, makes himself acquainted with the character of every individual in the village, and is bound to find out the possessor of any stolen property within the township, or to trace him till he has passed the boundary, when the responsibility is transferred to the next neighbour.

These duties may seem beyond the powers of one man; but the remuneration is hereditary in a particular family, all the members of which contribute to perform the service.* They are always men of a low cast.

* This is the only office in which the sort of joint tenancy described is beneficial. In most others the sharers act in turn: in that of the accountant the evil is most conspicuous, as the records are lost or thrown into confusion by frequently changing hands, and none of the coparceners is long enough in office to be perfect in his business.

The money-changer may also be considered an assistant of the headman, as one of his duties is to assay all money paid. He is also the silversmith of the village. Besides these, there are other village officers, the number of which is fixed by the native name and by common opinion at twelve; but, in fact, it varies in different villages, and the officers included are not always the same.

The priest and the astrologer (one of whom is often the schoolmaster), the smith, carpenter, barber, potter, and worker in leather, are seldom wanting. The tailor, washerman, physician, musician, minstrel, and some others, are not so general: the dancing girl seems only to be in the south of India.

The minstrel recites poems and composes verses. His most important character (in some places at least) is that of genealogist.* Each of these village officers and artisans has a fee, sometimes in money, more frequently a portion of produce, as a handful or two out of each measure of grain.

Government by a village community.

This is the mode of village government, when there is nobody between the tenant and the prince; but in one half of India, especially in the north and the extreme south, there is in each village a community which represents, or rather which constitutes, the township; the other inhabitants being

* The widely extended *entail* of all property in India, and the complicated restrictions on the intermarriage of families, make the business of a genealogist of much more serious concern in that country than it is with us.

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their tenants. (E) These people are generally regarded as absolute proprietors of the soil, and are admitted, wherever they exist, to have a hereditable and transferable interest in it; but, as the completeness of their proprietary right is doubtful, it will be convenient to preserve the ambiguity of their native name, and call them "village landholders." (F)

Where they exist, the village is sometimes governed by one head, as above described; but more frequently each branch of the family composing the community (or each family, if there be more than one,) has its own head, who manages its internal affairs, and unites with the heads of the other divisions to conduct the general business of the village. The council thus composed fills precisely the place occupied in other cases by the single headman, and its members share among them the official remuneration allowed to that officer by the government and the villagers. Their number depends on that of the divisions, but seldom exceeds eight or ten. Each of these heads is generally chosen from the oldest branch of his division, but is neither richer nor otherwise distinguished from the rest of the landholders.

Classes of inhabitants.

Where there are village landholders, they form the first class of the inhabitants of villages; but there are four other classes of inferior degree: — 2. Permanent tenants. 3. Temporary tenants. 4. Labourers. 5. Shopkeepers, who take up their abode in a village for the convenience of a market.

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Village land-holders.

The popular notion is that the village landholders are all descended from one or more individuals who first settled the village; and that the only exceptions are formed by persons who have derived their rights by purchase, or otherwise, from members of the original stock. The supposition is confirmed by the fact that, to this day, there are often only single families of landholders in small villages, and not many in large ones (G); but each has branched out into so many members, that it is not uncommon for the whole agricultural labour to be done by the landholders, without the aid either of tenants or labourers.

The rights of the landholders are theirs *collectively;* and, though they almost always have a more or less perfect partition of them, they never have an entire separation. A landholder, for instance, can sell or mortgage his rights; but he must first have the consent of the village, and the purchaser steps exactly into his place and takes up all his obligations. If a family becomes extinct, its share returns to the common stock.

Their rights are various in different parts of the country. Where their tenure is most perfect, they hold their lands subject to the payment of a *fixed* proportion of the produce to government, or free of all demand. When at the lowest, they retain some honorary exemptions that distinguish them from the rest of the villagers. (H)

There are many instances where the government has taken advantage of the attachment of the

landholders to their land to lay on them heavier imposts than other cultivators are willing to pay. Even then, however, some advantage, actual or prospective, must still remain; since there is no tract in which village landholders are found in which their rights are not occasionally sold and mortgaged. One advantage, indeed, they always enjoy in the consideration shown towards them in the country, which would induce a family to connect itself by marriage with a landholder who laboured with his own hands, rather than with a wealthy person, equally unexceptionable in point of cast, but of an inferior class of society.

So rooted is the notion of property in the village landholders, that, even when one of them is compelled to abandon his fields from the demand of government exceeding what they will pay, he is still considered as proprietor, his name still remains on the village register, and, for three generations, or one hundred years, he is entitled to reclaim his land, if from any change of circumstances he should be so disposed.

In the Támil country and in Hindostan, a tenant put in by the government will sometimes voluntarily pay the proprietor's fee to the defaulting and dispossessed landholder.*

Permanent tenants.

In all villages there are two descriptions of tenants, who rent the lands of the village landholders (where there are such), and those of the

* Mr. Ellis, *Report of Select Committee*, 1832, vol. iii. p. 376.; Mr. Fortescue, *Selections*, vol. iii. p. 405.

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government, where there is no such intermediate class. These tenants are commonly called ryots (I), and are divided into two classes, — permanent and temporary.

The permanent ryots are those who cultivate the lands of the village where they reside, retain them during their lives, and transmit them to their children. (K)

They have often been confounded with the village landholders, though the distinction is marked in all cases where any proprietor's fee exists. In it no tenant ever participates. *

Many are of opinion that they are the real proprietors of the soil; while others regard them as mere tenants at will. All, however, are agreed within certain limits; all acknowledging, on the one hand, that they have some claim to occupancy, and on the other, that they have no right to sell their land.

But, though all admit the right of occupancy, some contend that it is rendered nugatory by the right of the landlord to raise his rent; and others assert that the rent is so far fixed, that it ought never to go beyond the rate customary in the surrounding district.

The truth probably is, that the tenant's title was clear as long as the demand of the state was fixed; but that it became vague and of no value when the public assessment became arbitrary. At present,

* Mr. Ellis, *Report of Select Committee of House of Commons*, 1832, vol. iii. p. 385.

the permanent tenant is protected by the interest of the landlord; he will pay more than a stranger for lands long held by his family, and situated in a village where he has a house; but if driven to extremities, he could easily get a temporary lease, in another village, on lighter terms. (L)

It is thought by some that the permanent tenants are the remains of village landholders reduced by oppression; others think they are temporary tenants who have gained their rights by long possession. It is probable that both conjectures are partially right; as well as a third, that their tenure was, in many instances, conferred on them by the landholders at the first settlement of the township.

Temporary tenants.

The temporary tenant (M) cultivates the lands of a village different from that to which he belongs, holding them by an annual lease, written or understood. The first description of land being occupied by the resident tenant, an inferior class falls to his share, for which there is little competition; for this reason, and on account of his other disadvantages, he gets his land at a lower rent than the permanent tenant.

There is another sort of tenant who deserves to be mentioned, though of much less importance than either of the other two. (N) These are persons whose cast or condition in life prevents their engaging in manual labour, or their women from taking part in any employment that requires their

appearing before men. In consideration of these disadvantages, they are allowed to hold land at a favourable rate, so as to admit of their availing themselves of their skill or capital by the help of hired labourers. (O)

Hired labourers.

The services and remuneration of hired labourers are naturally various; but they differ too little from those of other countries to require explanation.

It need scarcely be repeated that each of these classes is not necessarily found in every village. One village may be cultivated entirely by any one of them, or by all, in every variety of proportion.

Shopkeepers, &c.

Shopkeepers, &c. are subject to a ground-rent, and sometimes a tax besides, to the person on whose land they reside. They are under the general authority of the headman as a magistrate, but have little else to do with the community.

Probable origin and decline of the village communities.

It seems highly probable that the first villages founded by Hindús were all in the hands of village communities. In the early stage of their progress, it was impossible for single men to cut fields out of the forest, and to defend them against the attacks of the aborigines, or even of wild beasts; there was no capital to procure the services of others; and, unless the undertaker had a numerous body of kindred, he was obliged to call in associates who were to share in the profits of the settlement; and thence came the formation of village communities, and the division of the land into townships.

The unoccupied waste, as in all other cases where society has assumed a regular form, must

no doubt have belonged to the state; but the King, instead of transferring this property to the intended cultivators for a price paid once for all, or for a fixed annual rent or quit-rent (as is usual in other countries), reserved a certain proportion of the produce, which increased or diminished according to the extent and nature of the cultivation. The rest of the produce belonged to the community of settlers; but if they found they had more good land than they could themselves till, they would endeavour to make a profit of it through the labour of others. No method seemed easier than to assign it to a person who should engage to pay the government's proportion, with an additional share to the community; but while land was plenty, and many villages in progress, no man would undertake to clear a spot unless he was to enjoy it for ever; and hence permanent tenants would arise. Temporary tenants and labourers would follow as society advanced. The subdivision of property by inheritance would have a natural tendency to destroy this state of things, and to reduce all ranks to the condition of labourers; but as long as there was plenty of waste land, that principle would not come into full operation.

But for this, the village community would remain unaltered as long as the King's proportion of the produce was unchanged. When he raised his demand, the profits of the landholders and permanent tenants diminished; and when it rose above a certain point, both classes cultivated their land

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at a loss. If this continued, they were obliged to throw up their lands, and seek other means of living.

As the highest proportion claimed by the King, which at the time of Menu's Code was one sixth, is now one half, it is easy to account for the annihilation of many village communities, and the shattered condition of others. The lands abandoned by the landholders reverted to the state.

But though this progress may have been very general, it need not have been universal; conquered lands already cultivated would become the property of the Prince, and might be cultivated on his account by the old proprietors reduced to serfs. Even at this day, the state constantly grants lands to speculators, for the purpose of founding villages, without recognising a body of landholders. The terms of these grants are various; in general, they provide for total or partial exemption from revenue for a certain number of years; after which the payment is to be the same as in neighbouring villages.

Other processes must also have taken place, as we perceive from the results, though we cannot trace their progress. In Canara, Malabar, and Travancore, the land is held in absolute property by single individuals, subject to a fixed payment to the state.

Public land revenue.

The Sovereign's full share is now reckoned at one half; and a country is reckoned moderately assessed where he only takes one third.

This increase has been made, not so much by openly raising the King's proportion of the crop, as by means of various taxes and cesses, some falling directly on the land, and others more or less circuitously affecting the cultivator. Of the first sort are taxes on ploughs, on cattle, and others of the same description: of the second, taxes on the use of music at certain ceremonies, on marriages with widows, &c., and new taxes on consumption. Besides these, there are arbitrary cesses of both descriptions, which were professedly laid on for temporary purposes, but have been rendered permanent in practice. Of this kind are a cess on all occupants of land, proportioned to their previous payments, and a cess on the emoluments of village and district functionaries.

As there is no limit to these demands but the ability of those on whom they fall to satisfy them, the only defence of the villagers lies in endeavouring to conceal their income. For this purpose they understate the amount of produce, and contrive to abstract part without the knowledge of the collector: more frequently they conceal the quantity of land cultivated, falsifying their records, so as to render detection impossible, without a troublesome and expensive scrutiny, involving a survey of the land. The landholders, where there are such, possess other indirect advantages, the extent of which the government is seldom able to ascertain. Some degree of connivance on the collector's part is obtained by bribes, which are

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levied as part of the internal expenses, and charged as "secret service;" an item into which it is a point of honour, both with the villagers and with future collectors and auditors, never to inquire.

It is only by the existence of such abuses, counterbalancing those on the part of the government, that we can account for land yielding a rent and being saleable when apparently assessed to the utmost of its powers of bearing.*

In the confusion produced by these irregularities on both sides, the principle of proportions of the produce is lost sight of; and in most parts of India the revenue is annually settled by a reference to that paid in former years, with such alterations as the peculiarity of the season, or the occurrence of any temporary advantage or calamity, may render expedient.

When the parties cannot agree by this mode of settlement, they have recourse to a particular inquiry into the absolute ability of the village for the year. The land being classed (as has been mentioned) according to its fertility, and the facilities it possesses for cultivation, the surplus remaining after the expense of production can be conjectured: a sufficient proportion is set aside for

* As in the village described by Mr. Hodgson (*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 77.), where the landholders pay 57½ per cent. of their produce. See also Mr. Chaplin and the Deckan collectors, and Mr. Elphinstone, for Guzerát, both in the selections published by the East India Company; Mr. Hamilton Buchanan, for Deinajpúr, and other districts under Bengal, in his separate reports.

the maintenance of the cultivator; and the rest, after deducting village expenses, &c., goes to the government. As a final resource, when all other amicable means fail, an appeal is made to an actual division of the crops: but this mode of adjustment is so open to frauds that it is generally avoided by both parties; except, indeed, in places where long connection between the representative of the government and the people has established mutual confidence, in which case the division of the crop is the most popular of all settlements.

If the result of the contest with the government officers is the imposition of a burden beyond the patience of the cultivators, the whole body by common consent abandon their lands, leave their village, and refuse to enter into any engagement with the government. The public officers then have recourse to conciliation and intimidation, and, when necessary, to concession: force would be reckoned very oppressive, and, if used, would be ineffectual: the most it could do would be to disperse the villagers, and drive them into other jurisdictions.

It may easily be supposed that such modes of settlement cannot be carried on without much interference with the internal constitution of the township. In general the government officer carries on his exactions through the headman, but interferes when necessary to support him against individuals; and he sometimes suspends the headman from his duties, and takes the details of im-

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posing and collecting the public revenue for the time into his own hands. Appeals and complaints are also incited to afford pretences for extortion in matters connected with justice and police; so that under a bad government the privileges of the townships are often reduced to insignificance.

All these evils are aggravated in many parts of India by the system of farming the revenue. The governments of provinces in such cases are conferred on the person who engages to give security for the largest annual payment to the treasury. This contractor in like manner farms his subdivisions to the highest bidder; and these last, in their turn, contract with the headmen for fixed payments from the villages, leaving each of them to make what profit he can for himself. By these means the natural defender of the cultivators becomes himself their principal oppressor; and, if the headman refuses the terms offered to him, the case is made worse by the transfer of his office to any stranger who is willing to accept the contract.

It is by such exactions that village landholders have in many cases been reduced from masters of the township to mere tenants of the crown, and in some have been obliged to fly from their lands, to avoid being compelled to cultivate them under terms which it was impossible for them to bear.

Hitherto each sharer in the village has been supposed to be acting on his own rights; but the King and the landholders are each entitled to alienate their share in the advantages derived from

it. The headman and accountant also, if not others of the village functionaries, can sell their offices and official emoluments. Thus a new description of persons is introduced into the township; but the new comers occupy precisely the station of their predecessors. The grantee of the King's share becomes entitled to receive *his* proportion of the produce, but does not supersede the headman in his local duties, still less interfere with private occupants; the new landholder takes up all the relations of the old; and the headman, accountant, &c. must henceforth be taken from the new family, but his functions undergo no change.

The purposes of the King's alienations will be explained a little further on.

**Property in the soil.**

This account of the different occupants of the land naturally leads to the much agitated question of the property in the soil; which some suppose to be vested in the state; some, in the great Zemíndárs; some, in the village landholders; and some, in the tenants.

The claim of the great Zemíndárs will be shown, in its proper place, to be derived from one of the remaining three; among whom, therefore, the discussion is confined.

Property in land seems to consist in the exclusive use and absolute disposal of the powers of the soil in perpetuity; together with the right to alter or destroy the soil itself, where such an operation is possible. These privileges, combined, form the

abstract idea of property; which does not represent any substance distinct from these elements. Where *they* are found united, *there* is property, and nowhere else. Now the King possesses the exclusive right to a proportion only of the produce. This right is permanent, and the King can dispose of it at his pleasure; but he cannot interfere with the soil or its produce beyond this limit. If he requires the land for buildings, roads, or other public purposes, he takes it as magistrate, and ought to give compensation to his fellow shareholders, as he can on emergency seize carts, boats, &c., and can demolish houses in besieged towns, although in those cases he has no pretensions whatever to property.

As much of the produce as comes into the hands of the landholder, after the King's proportion is provided, is his; and his power to dispose of his right to it for all future years is unrestrained. The tenant has what remains of the produce after the King's proportion and the landlord's rent is paid; and this he enjoys in perpetuity; but the right is confined to himself and his heirs, and cannot be otherwise disposed of.

Neither the landholder nor the tenant can destroy, or even suspend, the use of the powers of the soil: a tenant forfeits his land when he fails to provide a crop from which the other sharers may take their proportions; and a landholder guilty of the same default would be temporarily superseded by a tenant of the community's or the

King's, and, after a certain long period, would be deprived of his right altogether.

From all this it is apparent that, where there are village communities and permanent tenants, there is no perfect property in any of the sharers. Where there are neither communities nor permanent tenants, the King doubtless is the full and complete proprietor; all subsequent rights are derived from his grant or lease. The extent of those grants varies with circumstances; but when they are given without reserve and in perpetuity, they constitute a perfect form of private property.

Many of the disputes about the property in the soil have been occasioned by applying to all parts of the country, facts which are only true of particular tracts; and by including, in conclusions drawn from one sort of tenure, other tenures totally dissimilar in their nature. Many also are caused by the assumption, that where the government attends to no rights, no rights are now in being. Yet those rights are asserted by the sufferers, and not denied by those who violate them; and often, in favourable circumstances, recover their former efficiency. Practically, the question is not in whom the property resides, but what proportion of the produce is due to each party; and this can only be settled by local inquiries, not by general rules founded on a supposed proprietary right, nor even on ancient laws long since forgotten.

Other branches of the King's revenue.

The King's share in the produce of all land, and his rent on such as belongs to the crown, form by

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far the greatest part of the public revenue. The rest is derived from various sources: of these, some are drawn from the land, as the cesses and taxes above alluded to; and others from classes unconnected with agriculture; as taxes on shops and trades, and houses in towns, or on articles of consumption, market duties, transit duties on the great roads, sea customs, and a few others. Most of them, especially the transit duties, are fertile sources of oppression and vexation, and yield little clear profit in return for so much evil. These revenues are generally collected by the village and other local authorities; but some of them, especially transit duties and customs, are often farmed to separate contractors.

Alienations.

It has been mentioned that the King can alienate his share in a village. In like manner he often alienates large portions of territory, including numerous villages as well as tracts of unappropriated waste. But in all these cases it is only his own rights that he makes over: those of the village landholders and permanent tenants (where such exist), of district and village officers, and of persons holding by previous grants from himself or his predecessors, remaining unaffected by the transfer.* These grants are made for the payment of troops

* Want of advertence to this circumstance has led to mistakes regarding the property in the soil. The native expression being "to grant a village," or "a district," it has been inferred that the grant implied the whole, and excluded the notion of any other proprietors.

and civil officers, for the support of temples, the maintenance of holy men, or for rewards of public service. Lands given for the two first purposes are called jágírs. This mode of remunerating the services of certain officers, and of providing for holy men, is as old as Menu. When it came to be applied to troops is uncertain. It was in use in Bijáyanagar, and other states of the south of India, when they were overturned by the Mussulmans; but the more perfect form in which it is now found among the Marattas is probably of modern date.

Lands alienated for military service.

Such grants originate in the convenience of giving an assignment on a district near the station of the troops, instead of an order on the general treasury; a mode of transfer particularly adapted to a country where the revenue is paid in kind.

These assignments at first were for specific sums equal to the pay due; but when they had long been continued, and were large enough to swallow up the whole revenue of a district, it was natural to simplify the arrangement, by transferring the collection to the chief of the military body. This was done with every precaution to prevent the chiefs appropriating more than the pay of the troops, or exercising any power not usually vested in other collectors. The system adopted by the Marattas gives a full illustration of the means resorted to for this purpose.

According to their plan, the number and description of troops to be maintained by each chief was prescribed; the pay of each division carefully

calculated; allowances made for officers, sometimes even to the extent of naming individuals; a sum was allotted for the personal expenses of the chief himself; and every particular regarding the terms of service, the mode of mustering, and other arrangements, was laid down. A portion of territory was then selected, of which the share belonging to government should be sufficient, after deducting the expenses of collection and other charges, to supply the amount which had been shown to be requisite; and the whole territory yielding that amount was made over to the chief. The chief was now placed in the situation of the governor of a revenue division, and exercised all the other functions which are now united in the holder of that office.

The power to interfere for the protection of subordinate rights was, however, retained by the government, as well as a claim to any revenue which the tract assigned might yield beyond the amount for which it was granted. Those stipulations were enforced by the appointment of two or more civil officers, directly from the government, to inspect the whole of the chief's proceedings, as well in managing his troops as his lands.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, the usual consequences of such grants did not fail to appear. The lands had from the first a tendency to become hereditary; and the control of the government always grew weaker in proportion to the time that had elapsed from the first assignment. The ori-

ginal principle of the grant, however, was never lost sight of, and the necessity of observing its conditions was never denied.

These grants affected but a moderate proportion of the territory of the state; the rest of which was administered by local officers directly under the prince, according to the form laid down in Menu. The allotment of lands was adopted as a means of paying the troops, and not of governing the country; so that, although there were fiefs, there was no feudal system.

But, though this was the progress of landed assignments in settled countries, they took another course in the case of foreign conquests. In some instances a chief was detached by the invaders, to occupy a remote part of the country, and to subsist his troops on its resources; and was allowed to remain undisturbed until his family had taken root, and had become tenants on condition of service instead of mere officers on detachment. Examples of this nature may be found among the Hindú governments in the south of India, and in abundance and perfection among the Marattas of later times.

Even in these cases of foreign conquest, however, the intermediate tenure is the exception, and not the rule; the main portion of the territory remaining under the direct administration of the prince.

But a course of proceeding yet remains, which carries the principle of alienation to a greater

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extent, and leads to a system which (with every caution in applying familiar names to remote institutions) it is impossible not to call *feudal.*

Lands for military service among the Rájpúts.

It is that which prevails among the Rájpúts. With them, the founder of a state, after reserving a demesne for himself, divided the rest of the country among his relations, according to the Hindú laws of partition. The chief to whom each share was assigned owed military service and general obedience to the prince, but exercised unlimited authority within his own lands. He, in his turn, divided his lands on similar terms among his relations, and a chain of vassal chiefs was thus established, to whom the civil government as well as the military force of the country was committed. (P)

This plan differs from the feudal system in Europe, as being founded on the principle of family partition, and not on that of securing the services of great military leaders; but it may not always have originated in conquest, and when it did, the clannish connection which subsists between the members of a Rájpút tribe makes it probable that command among the invaders depended also on descent; and that the same kinsmen who shared the chief's acquisitions had been the leaders of the tribe before the conquest by which they were gained.

The origin of present possession in family claims is still alive in the memory of the Rájpút chiefs, who view the prince as their coparcener in one

point of view, though their sovereign in another. This mixed relation is well shown by the following passage, in a complaint from certain chiefs of Márwár against the Raja: — "When our services are acceptable," say they, "then he is our lord: when not, we are again his brothers and kindred, claimants and laying claim to the land." *

The rule of partition was adhered to after the conquest, and each chief, in succession, was obliged to provide an appanage for the younger members of his father's family. When any of those claimants remained inadequately provided for, he was assisted to set out on military adventures, and to found new states, by conquests in other countries. (Q)

The example of granting lands, which was set in the case of the Raja's family, came to be extended to strangers: many fiefs are now held by Rájpúts of entirely distinct tribes †; and one of the first order seems, in later times, to have been bestowed on a Mussulman.‡ (R)

From the accounts given by the Mahometans of the state of Sind, during their early invasion in A. D. 711, it seems not improbable that the species of feudal system preserved among the modern Rájpúts was then widely extended.§

**Lands for services not military.**

Lands for services not military, besides those already noticed to local officers, are, to ministers

* Tod's Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 198. † Id. ibid. p. 166.

‡ In 1770. Tod's Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 200.

§ See Book V. Chap. I.

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and other persons engaged in the administration; and also to great officers of the household, and hereditary personal attendants.

Lands held free of service.

Other alienations are, to temples or religious persons, or to meritorious servants and to favourites. Though very numerous, they are generally of small extent: often single villages; sometimes only partial assignments on the government share of a village; but, in some cases, also, especially religious grants, they form very large estates. Religious grants are always in perpetuity, and are seldom interfered with. A large proportion of the grants to individuals are also in perpetuity, and are regarded as among the most secure forms of private property; but the gradual increase of such instances of liberality, combined with the frequency of forged deeds of gift, sometimes induces the ruler to resume the grants of his predecessors, and, more frequently, to burden them with heavy taxes. When these are laid on transfers by sale, or even by succession, they are not thought unjust; but total resumptions, or the permanent levy of a fixed rate, is regarded as oppressive. The reaction must have begun long ago; for the ancient inscriptions often contain imprecations on any of the descendants of the granter who shall resume his gift.

Tributary and other dependent territories.

It is probable that in all times there were heads of hill and forest tribes who remained independent of the Hindú monarchies; since even the more vigorous governments of the Moguls and the British have not always been able to reduce such

chiefs to subjection. There were certainly others who, though they acknowledged a sovereign, and paid him a real or nominal tribute, or furnished a regular quota of troops, or merely gave general assistance, yet retained the internal administration of their country, yielding different degrees of obedience according to circumstances.

The number of these half subdued chieftains was, from time to time, increased on the breaking up of different Hindú states, when the governors of districts and the military feudatories were able to hold out against the conqueror, and to maintain themselves in different degrees of independence. Other individuals of the same classes, and, still more, persons who farmed the public revenue, contrived to keep their stations by rendering themselves useful to the ruling power; and, without the least pretensions to independence, were admitted to have a sort of hereditary right or interest in their districts, as long as they administered them satisfactorily, and paid the revenue demanded by the government.

Zemíndárs, what.

It is these three descriptions of persons, together with others who have risen under the Mahometans, that form the great class known to the English by the name of Zemíndárs *, whose rights have been

* The Persian word zemín-dár, means *haver*, *holder*, or *keeper* of the land, but by no means necessarily implies ownership; the termination *dár* being applied to a person in any charge, down to the meanest; as *khezáneh-dár*, treasurer; *kella-dár*, governor of a fort; *chób-dár*, mace bearer; *áb-dár*, water cooler, &c.

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discussed with so much heat and confusion, and who will again be noticed as the requisite occasions arise.

War.

The art of war is greatly changed. At the time of the Mahometan invasions from Ghazni, the Hindús were capable of systematic plans, pursued through several campaigns, and no longer confined to inroads of a few weeks' duration. The use of ordnance afterwards made another great alteration; and the introduction of regular battalions entirely changed the face of war. Setting aside that European improvement, their discipline, so far as relates to order of march and battle, is worse than that described in Menu; but they now show a skill in the choice of ground, an activity in the employment of light troops, and a judgment in securing their own supplies and cutting off those of the enemy, of which there is no sign in the long instructions laid down in the code.

The spirit of generosity and mercy which pervades the old laws of war is no longer to be found; but war in India is still carried on with more humanity than in other Asiatic countries; and more so by the Hindús than the Mahometans.

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It is said by Mr. Stirling (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 239.) that, until Aurangzíb's time, the term zemíndár was confined to such chiefs as enjoyed some degree of independence. In modern times it is not limited to that class; for in the Deckan it is most generally applied by the natives to the district officers (désmúks, &c.); and in our provinces in Hindostan, to the village landholders.

The longer duration of their campaigns renders the military part of their life much more marked than it was formerly. Some of the Maratta chiefs, in particular, have lived entirely in the field, and had no other capital but their camp. From this circumstance, the numbers assembled are out of all proportion to the fighting men; and, when they move, they form a disorderly crowd, spread over the country for ten or twelve miles in length, and one or two in breadth, besides parties scattered to the right and left for forage or plunder.

The main body is, in some places, dense, and in others rare, composed of elephants and camels, horse and foot, carts, palankeens, and bullock-carriages, loaded oxen, porters, women, children, droves of cattle, goats, sheep, and asses, all in the greatest conceivable disorder, and all enveloped in a thick cloud of dust that rises high into the atmosphere, and may be seen for miles.

Where there are regular infantry, they march in a body, or, at least, by regiments; and the guns form a long line, occasioning continual obstructions from the badness of the roads or the breaking down of carriages. The rest of the troops straggle among the baggage. Two tall standards, accompanied by kettle-drums, (all, perhaps, on elephants,) represent a body which ought to be from 500 to 5000 horse, but are followed by from 5 to 50. The other horsemen belonging to them are riding singly or in groups, each, perhaps, with his spear poised on his shoulder, to the imminent danger of those

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who press behind, while the owner is joking with his companion, or singing in a voice that may be heard amidst the surrounding din.

The whole is generally so loosely spread that a horseman might go at a full trot from the rear to the head of the column, and have way made for him as he advanced, except at passes of ravines, or narrow parts of the road, where he and everybody else must often suffer most tedious delay.

Partial halts occasionally take place towards the front, when the quarter-master general is negotiating with a village how much it is to give him not to encamp on its lands; and, towards the rear, as individuals wish to smoke, or to take other rest or refreshment.

Now and then a deer or a wild boar runs through the line: shouts and commotion precede and follow his course; sticks are thrown, shots are fired, and men spur through the crowd, without much thought of the risk of life or limb to themselves or others.

With all this want of order, its good intelligence and numbers of light troops prevent a native army from being surprised on the line of march.

It would be difficult, in our wars, to find an instance even of the baggage of a native army being cut off, unless when fairly run down by a succession of hard marches. On the contrary, these apparently unwieldy masses have often gained great advantages from the secrecy and celerity of their movements. Heider, Tippoo, and the Marattas frequently overwhelmed separate detachments by

attacking them when believed to be in some distant quarter; and as often have they slipped through difficult passes, and ravaged the country in the rear of our general, when he thought he was driving them before him towards their own capital.

When they reach their ground, things are arranged better than would be expected in such a scene of confusion. Conspicuous flags are pitched, which mark the place allotted to each chief or each department; and every man knows what part of his own line belongs to him.

The camp, when pitched, is a mixture of regularity and disorder. The bázárs are long and regular streets, with shops of all descriptions, as in a city. The guns and disciplined infantry are in lines, and the rest scattered about, without any visible regard to arrangement. The tents are mostly white, but often striped with red, green, or blue, and sometimes wholly of those colours.

Those of the poor are low, and of black woollen, sometimes merely a blanket of that description thrown over three spears stuck in the ground; though the owners of spears are seldom so ill lodged.

The tents of the great are splendid: they are disposed in courts formed of canvass screens; and some are large and lofty, for public receptions; while others are low, and of moderate size, with quilted, and sometimes double walls, that secure privacy, while they exclude the dust and wind.

They are connected by covered passages, and contain every accommodation that would be met with in a palace. A Maratta court, indeed, appears to much greater advantage in their camps than in their cities. Yet, with all this magnificence, there is some of their usual carelessness and indifference to making anything complete: these canvass palaces are often so ill pitched that they are quite incapable of resisting the tempests of particular seasons. Sindia's whole suite of tents have been known to be levelled with the ground at midnight, and his women obliged to seek shelter from the wind and rain in some low private tent that happened to have resisted the fury of the elements. The intended proceedings for the next day are announced by fakírs or gosáyens, who go about the camp proclaiming a halt, or the hour and direction of the movement; and who stop on the march to beg, exactly at the point where the welcome sight of the flags of the proposed encampment dispose all to be liberal.

The armies are fed by large bodies of Banjáras, a tribe whose business it is to be carriers of grain, and who bring it from distant countries and sell it wholesale to the dealers.

Smaller dealers go about to villages at a moderate distance from the camp and buy from the inhabitants. The government interferes very little, and native camps are almost always well supplied.

The villages in the neighbourhood of the camp

are sure to be plundered, unless protected by safe-guards. The inhabitants fly with such property as they can carry, the rest is pillaged, and the doors and rafters pulled down for firewood: treasure is dug for if the place is large; and even in small villages people try if the ground sounds hollow, in hopes of finding the pits in which grain is buried; or bore with iron rods, such as are used by our surveyors, and ascertain, by the smell, whether the rod has passed through grain. A system like this soon reduces a country to a desert. In a tract often traversed by armies the villages are in ruins and deserted; and bushes of different ages, scattered over the open country, show that cultivated fields are rapidly changing into jungle. The large towns are filled with fugitives from the country; and their neighbourhood is generally well cultivated, being secured by means of compositions with the passing armies.

The most important part of the Hindú battles is, now, a cannonade. In this they greatly excel, and have occasioned heavy loss to us in all our battles with them; but the most characteristic mode of fighting (besides skirmishing, which is a favourite sort of warfare) is a general charge of cavalry, which soon brings the battle to a crisis.

Nothing can be more magnificent than this sort of charge. Even the slow advance of such a sea of horsemen has something in it more than usually impressive; and, when they move on at speed, the thunder of the ground, the flashing of their arms,

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the brandishing of their spears, the agitation of their banners rushing through the wind, and the rapid approach of such a countless multitude, produce sensations of grandeur which the imagination cannot surpass.

Their mode is to charge the front and the flanks at once; and the manner in which they perform this manœuvre has sometimes called forth the admiration of European antagonists, and is certainly surprising in an undisciplined body. The whole appear to be coming on at full speed towards their adversary's front, when, suddenly, those selected for the duty, at once wheel inwards, bring their spears by one motion to the side nearest the enemy, and are in upon his flank before their intention is suspected.

These charges, though grand, are ineffectual against regular troops, unless they catch them in a moment of confusion, or when they have been thinned by the fire of cannon.

Horse are often maintained (as before mentioned) by assignments of the rent or revenue belonging to government, in particular tracts of country, but oftener by payments from the treasury, either to military leaders, at so much a horseman, (besides personal pay, and pay of subordinate officers,) or to single horsemen, who, in such cases, are generally fine men, well mounted, and who expect more than ordinary pay. Some bodies are mounted on horses belonging to the government; and these, although the men are of lower rank than

the others, are the most obedient and efficient part of the army.

The best foot now-a-days are mercenaries, men from the Jamna and Ganges, and likewise Arabs and Sindians; especially Arabs, who are incomparably superior to most other Asiatics in courage, discipline, and fidelity.

Their own way of carrying on sieges is, probably, little improved since Menu: individuals creep near the wall, and cover themselves by digging, till they can crouch in safety, and watch for an opportunity to pick off some of the garrison; batteries are gradually raised, and a shot fired from time to time, which makes little impression on the works: a blockade, a surprise, or an unsuccessful sally, more frequently ends the siege than a regular assault.

Policy.

The modern system of government and policy will appear in so many shapes hereafter, that it is quite unnecessary to enter on the subject in this place.

## CHAP. III.

### CHANGES IN THE LAW.

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Changes in the written law.
Civil law.

The Code of Menu is still the basis of the Hindú jurisprudence; and the principal features remain unaltered to the present day.

The various works of other inspired writers, however, and the numerous commentaries by persons of less authority, together with the additions rendered necessary by the course of time, have introduced many changes into the written law, and have led to the formation of several schools, the various opinions of which are followed respectively in different parts of India.

In all of these Menu is the text-book, but is received according to the interpretations and modifications of approved commentators; and the great body of law thus formed has again been reduced to digests, each of authority within the limits of particular schools.

Bengal has a separate school of her own; and, although the other parts of India agree in their general opinions, they are still distinguished into at least four schools: those of Mithila (North Behár); Benares; Mahárashtra (the Maratta country); and Drávida (the south of the Peninsula).

All of these schools concur in abolishing mar-

riages between unequal casts; as well as the practice of raising up issue to deceased brothers, and all the species of sons mentioned in Menu, except a son of the body and one by adoption. Most of them, however, admit a species of adoption unknown to Menu, which is made by a widow in behalf of her deceased husband, in consequence of real or supposed instructions imparted by him during his life. Some schools give the power to the widow independent of all authorisation by the deceased.

All the schools go still further than Menu in securing to sons the equal division of their family property. Most of them prevent the father's alienating ancestral property without the consent of his sons, and without leaving a suitable maintenance for each of them; all prohibit arbitrary division of ancestral property, and greatly discourage it even when the property has been acquired by the distributor himself. The Drávida school gives to the sons exactly the same rights as to the father, in regard to the disposal of all his property, and puts them on a complete equality with him, except in the present enjoyment.*

All, except Bengal, in certain cases, still withhold the power of making a will.

The law now goes much more into particulars on all subjects than in Menu's time. Land is often mentioned under a variety of forms, and some of

* Mr. Ellis, *Transactions of Madras Literary Society*, p. 14.

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the relations between landlord and tenant are fixed.

Attornies or pleaders are allowed: rules of pleading are prescribed, which are spoken of with high praise by Sir William Jones.*

Different modes of arbitration are provided; and, although many of the rudest parts of the old fabric remain, yet the law bears clear marks of its more recent date, in the greater experience it evinces in the modes of proceeding, and in the signs of a more complicated society than existed in the time of the first Code.

The improvements, however, in the written law bear no proportion to the excellence of the original sketch; and the existing Code of the Hindús has no longer that superiority to those of other Asiatic nations which, in its early stage, it was entitled to claim over all its contemporaries.

Changes in practice.

Many great changes have been silently wrought without any alteration in the letter of the law. The eight modes of marriage, for instance, are still permitted; but only one (that most conformable to reason and to the practice of other nations) is ever adopted in fact.

Criminal law.

The criminal law, also, which still subsists in all its original deformity, has (probably for that very reason) fallen into desuetude, and has been replaced by a sort of customary law, or by arbitrary will.

The regular administration of justice by perma-

* Colebrooke's Digest, preface, p. xii.

nent courts, which is provided for in Menu, and of which the tribunals, with their several powers, are recorded by later writers*, is hardly observed by any Hindú government. The place of those tribunals is in part taken by commissions appointed in a summary way by the prince, generally granted from motives of court favour, and often composed of persons suited to the object of the protecting courtier. In part, the courts are replaced by bodies of arbitrators, called Pancháyets, who sometimes act under the authority of the government, and sometimes settle disputes by the mere consent of the parties. The efficiency of these tribunals is in some measure kept up, notwithstanding the neglect of the government, by the power given by Menu to a creditor over his debtor, which still subsists, and affords a motive to the person withholding payment to consent to an inquiry into the claim.

On the whole, there cannot be the least doubt that civil justice is much worse administered in Hindú states at the present time than it was in the earliest of which we have any certain knowledge.

Local laws.

Besides rules of Menu which have been altered in later times, many local customs are now observable, of which no notice is taken in the Institutes.

Most of these are unimportant; but some relate to matters of the first consequence, and are probably remains of the laws which prevailed in the

* See Mr. Colebrooke on Hindú Courts of Justice, *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 166.

nations where they are now in force before the introduction of Menu's Code, or of the authority of the Bramins. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of this sort is to be found among the Náirs of Malabár, where a married woman is legally permitted to have unrestrained intercourse with all men of equal or superior cast; and where, from the uncertainty of the issue thus produced, a man's heirs are always his sister's sons, and not his own.*

* Dr. F. Buchanan's Journey through the Mysore, &c., vol. ii. p. 411, 412.

## CHAP. IV.

### PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.

CHAP. IV.

Changes since Menu.

THE principal changes in religion since Menu are —

The neglect of the principle of monotheism:

The neglect of some gods, and the introduction of others:

The worship of deified mortals:

The introduction (or at least the great increase) of sects, and the attempt to exalt individual gods at the expense of the others:

The doctrine that *faith* in a particular god is more efficacious than contemplation, ceremonial observance, or good works:

The use of a new ritual instead of the Védas; and the religious ascendancy acquired by the monastic orders.

The nature of these changes will appear in an account of the Hindú religion as it now stands, which is essential to an understanding of the ordinary transactions of the people.

There is, indeed, no country where religion is so constantly brought before the eye as in India. Every town has temples of all descriptions, from a shrine, which barely holds the idol, to a pagoda with lofty towers, and spacious courts, and colon-

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nades. To all these votaries are constantly repairing, to hang the image with garlands, and to present it with fruits and flowers. The banks of the river, or artificial sheet of water, (for there is no town that is not built on one or other,) has often noble flights of steps leading down to the water, which are covered, in the early part of the day, with persons performing their ablutions, and going through their devotions, as they stand in the stream. In the day, the attention is drawn by the song, or by the graceful figures and flowing drapery of groups of women, as they bear their offerings to a temple.

Parties of Bramins and others pass on similar occasions; and frequently numerous processions move on, with drums and music, to perform the ceremony of some particular holiday. They carry with them images borne aloft on stages, representations of temples, chariots, and other objects, which, though of cheap and flimsy materials, are made with skill and taste, and present a gay and glitter ing appearance.

At a distance from towns, temples are always found in inhabited places; and frequently rise among the trees on the banks of rivers, in the heart of deep groves, or on the summits of hills. Even in the wildest forests, a stone covered with vermillion, with a garland hung on a tree above it, or a small flag fastened among the branches, apprises the traveller of the sanctity of the spot.

Troops of pilgrims and religious mendicants are

often met on the road; the latter distinguished by the dress of their order, and the pilgrims by bearing some symbol of the god to whose shrine they are going, and shouting out his name or watchword whenever they meet with other passengers. The numerous festivals throughout the year are celebrated by the native princes with great pomp and expense; they afford occasions of display to the rich, and lead to some little show and festivity even among the lower orders.

But the frequent meetings, on days sacred to particular gods, are chiefly intended for the latter class, who crowd to them with delight, even from distant quarters.

Though the religion presented in so many striking forms does not enter, in reality, into all the scenes to which it gives rise, yet it still exercises a prodigious influence over the people; and has little, if at all, declined, in that respect, since the first period of its institution.

The objects of adoration, however, are no longer the same.

The theism inculcated by the Védas as the true faith, in which all other forms were included, has been supplanted by a system of gross polytheism and idolatry; and, though nowhere entirely forgotten, is never steadily thought of, except by philosophers and divines.

The authors of the Védas, though they ascended beyond the early worship of the elements and the powers of nature to a knowledge of the real cha-

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racter of the Divinity, and though anxious to diffuse their own doctrines, did not disturb the popular belief; but, actuated either by their characteristic respect for immemorial usage, or, perhaps, by a regard for the interests of the priesthood (from which the most enlightened Bramin seems never to have been free), they permitted the worship of the established gods to continue, representing them as so many forms or symbols of the real Divinity. At the same time, they erected no temple and addressed no worship to the true God. The consequence was such as was to be expected from the weakness of human nature: the obvious and palpable parts of their religion prevailed over the more abstruse and more sublime: the ancient polytheism kept its ground, and was further corrupted by the introduction of deified heroes, who have, in their turn, superseded the deities from whom they were supposed to derive their divinity.

The Puránas.

The scriptures of this new religion are the Puránas, of which there are eighteen, all alleged by their followers to be the works of Vyása, the compiler of the Vedas; but, in reality, composed by different authors between the eighth and sixteenth centuries, although, in many places, from materials of much more ancient date. They contain theogonies; accounts of the creation; philosophical speculations; instructions for religious ceremonies; genealogies; fragments of history; and innumerable legends relating to the actions of gods, heroes, and sages. Most are written to support the doc-

trines of particular sects, and all are corrupted by sectarian fables; so that they do not form a consistent whole, and were never intended to be combined into one general system of belief. Yet they are all received as incontrovertible authority; and, as they are the sources from which the present Hindú religion is drawn, we cannot be surprised to find it full of contradictions and anomalies.

Present objects of worship.

The Hindús, as has been said, are still aware of the existence of a Supreme Being, from whom all others derive their existence, or, rather, of whose substance they are composed; for, according to the modern belief, the universe and the Deity are one and the same. But their devotion is directed to a variety of gods and goddesses, of whom it is impossible to fix the number. Some accounts, with the usual Hindú extravagance, make the deities amount to 330,000,000; but most of these are ministering angels in the different heavens, or other spirits who have no individual name or character, and who are counted by the million.

The following seventeen, however, are the principal ones, and, perhaps, the only ones universally recognised as exercising distinct and divine functions, and therefore entitled to worship*: —

1. Brahmá, the creating principle;
2. Vishnu, the preserving principle;
3. Siva, the destroying principle;

With their corresponding female divinities, who are

* Kennedy's *Researches into the Hindoo Mythology*, p. 357.

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mythologically regarded as their wives, but, metaphysically, as the active powers which develope the principle represented by each member of the triad; namely, —

4. Sereswati.
5. Lakshmi.
6. Parvati, called also Dévi, Bhaváni, or Durga.
7. Indra, god of the air and of the heavens.
8. Varuna, god of the waters.
9. Pávana, god of the wind.
10. Agni, god of fire.
11. Yama, god of the infernal regions and judge of the dead.
12. Cuvéra, god of wealth.
13. Cártikeia, god of war.
14. Cáma, god of love.
15. Surya, the sun.
16. Sóma, the moon.
17. Ganésa, who is the remover of difficulties, and, as such, presides over the entrances to all edifices, and is invoked at the commencement of all undertakings. To these may be added the planets, and many sacred rivers, especially the Ganges, which is personified as a female divinity, and honoured with every sort of worship and reverence.

The three first of these gods, Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva, form the celebrated Hindú triad, whose separate characters are sufficiently apparent, but whose supposed unity may perhaps be resolved into the general maxim of orthodox Hindús, that

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*all* the deities are only various forms of one Supreme Being.*

Brahmá, though he seems once to have had some degree of pre-eminence, and is the only one of the three mentioned by Menu†, was never much worshipped, and has now but one temple in India‡: though invoked in the daily service, his separate worship is almost entirely neglected.§

His consort, Sereswati, being goddess of learning and eloquence, has not fallen so completely out of notice.

It is far different with Vishnu and Siva. They and their incarnations now attract almost all the religious veneration of the Hindús; the relative importance of each is eagerly supported by numerous votaries; and there are heterodox sects of great extent which maintain the supreme divinity of each, to the entire exclusion of his rival.

Siva.

Siva is thus described in the Puránas.‖ "He wanders about, surrounded by ghosts and goblins, inebriated, naked, and with dishevelled hair, covered with the ashes of a funeral pile, ornamented with human skulls and bones, sometimes laughing and sometimes crying." The usual pictures of him correspond with these gloomy descriptions, with the addition that he has three eyes, and bears

* Kennedy's Researches, p. 211. Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 279.

† Kennedy's Researches, p. 270.

‡ Tod's Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 774.

§ Ward on the Hindoos, vol. iii. p. 26.

‖ Quoted in *Kennedy's Researches*, p. 291.

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a trident in one of his hands: his hair is coiled up like that of a religious mendicant; and he is represented seated in an attitude of profound thought. This last particular corresponds with the legends relating to him, which describe him as always absorbed in meditation, and as consuming with the fire of his eye those who dare to disturb him in his state of abstraction. But although these accounts accord so well with his character of destroyer, the only emblem under which he is ever worshipped is intended to mark that destruction as only another name for regeneration.

It is meant for the same symbol of the creative principle that was employed by the ancients; but is, in fact, a low cylinder of stone, which occupies the place of an image in all the temples sacred to Siva, and which suggests no suspicion of its original import. Bloody sacrifices are performed to Siva, though discouraged by the Bramins of his sect; and it is in honour of him, or of his consort, that so many self-inflicted tortures are incurred on certain days in every year. On those occasions, some stab their limbs and pierce their tongues with knives, and walk in procession with swords, arrows, and even living serpents thrust through the wounds; while others are raised into the air by a hook fixed in the flesh of their backs, and are whirled round by a moveable lever, at a height which would make their destruction inevitable, if the skin were to give way.*

* Ward's Hindoos, vol. iii. p. 15.; and Bishop Heber's Journal, vol. i. p. 77.

The nature of Siva's occupations does not indicate much attention to the affairs of mankind; and, according to the present Hindú system, there is no god particularly charged with the government of the world; the Supreme Being, out of whose substance it is formed, taking no concern in its affairs: but the opinion of the vulgar is more rational than that of their teachers; they mix up the idea of the Supreme Being with that of the deity who is the particular object of their adoration, and suppose him to watch over the actions of men, and to reward the good and punish the wicked both in this world and in the next.

The heaven of Siva is in the midst of the eternal snows and glaciers of Keilás, one of the highest and deepest groups of the stupendous summits of Hémaláya.

**Dévi or Bhaváni.**

His consort, Dévi or Bhaváni, is at least as much an object of adoration as Siva; and is represented in still more terrible colours. Even in the milder forms in which she is generally seen in the south of India, she is a beautiful woman, riding on a tiger, but in a fierce and menacing attitude, as if advancing to the destruction of one of the giants, against whom her incarnations were assumed. But in another form, occasionally used every where, and seemingly the favourite one in Bengal, she is represented with a black skin, and a hideous and terrible countenance, streaming with blood, encircled with snakes, hung round with skulls and human heads, and in all respects resembling a fury

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rather than a goddess. Her rites in those countries correspond with this character. Human sacrifices were formerly offered to her*; and she is still supposed to delight in the carnage that is carried on before her altars. At her temple, near Calcutta, 1000 goats, besides other animals, are said to be sacrificed every month.† At Bindabáshni, where the extremity of the Vindya hills approaches the Ganges, it used to be the boast of the priests that the blood before her image was never allowed to dry.

In other respects the worship of Dévi does not differ much from that of the other gods; but it sometimes assumes a form that has brought suspicion or disgrace on the whole of the Hindú religion. I allude to the secret orgies, which have often been dwelt on by the missionaries, and the existence of which no one has ever attempted to deny. On those occasions, one sect of the worshippers of Dévi, chiefly Bramins, (but not always, for with this sect all cast is abolished,) meet in parties of both sexes, to feast on flesh and spirituous liquors, and to indulge in the grossest debauchery. All this is rendered doubly odious by being performed with some semblance of the ceremonies of religion; but it is probably of rare occurrence, and is all done with the utmost secrecy; the sect by which it is tolerated is scarcely ever avowed, and is looked on with horror and contempt by all the orthodox

* Mr. Blaquiere, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 371.

† Ward's Hindoos, vol. iii. p. 126.

Hindús. Besides these votaries of Dévi, and entirely unconnected with her worship, there are some few among the varieties of religious mendicants who consider themselves above all law, and at liberty to indulge their passions without incurring sin. These add to the ill repute of the religion of the Hindús; and it is undeniable, that a strain of licentiousness and sensuality mixes occasionally with every part of their mythology; but it is confined to books and songs, and to temples and festivals, which do not fall under every one's observation. A stranger might live among them for years, and frequent their religious ceremonies and private companies, without seeing any thing indecent; and their notions of decorum, in the intercourse of persons of different sexes, is carried to a pitch of strictness which goes beyond what is consistent with reason or with European notions.

Vishnu and his incarnations.

To return to the gods of the Hindús: Vishnu is represented as a comely and placid young man, of a dark azure colour, and dressed like a king of ancient days. He is painted also in the forms of his ten principal incarnations, which I may mention to illustrate the genius of Hindú fiction.

The first was that of a fish, to recover the Védas which had been carried away by a demon in a deluge; another was that of a boar, who raised on his tusks the world, which had sunk to the bottom of the ocean; and another was a tortoise, that supported a mountain in one of the most famous legends. The fourth had rather more of human

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interest. An infidel tyrant was about to put his son to death for his faith in Vishnu. In his last interview, he asked him, in derision of the omnipresence of his favourite divinity, whether he was in that pillar, pointing to one of those that supported the hall. The son answered that he was; and the incensed father was about to order his execution, when Vishnu, in the shape of a man, with the head and paws of a lion, burst from the pillar and tore him to pieces. The fifth was, when a king, by force of sacrifices and austerities, had acquired such a power over the gods that they were compelled to surrender to him the earth and sea, and were waiting in dread till the conclusion of his last sacrifice should put him in possession of the heavens. On this occasion Vishnu presented himself as a Bramin dwarf, and begged for as much ground as he could step over in three paces: the Rája granted his request, with a smile at his diminutive stature; when Vishnu at the first step strode over the earth; at the second, over the ocean; and no space being left for the third, he released the Rája from his promise, on condition of his descending to hell. The sixth incarnation is Paris Rám, a Bramin hero, who made war on the Cshetrya, or military class, and extirpated the whole race. The seventh was Ráma. The eighth was Balla Ráma, a hero who delivered the earth from giants. The ninth was Budha, a teacher of a false religion, whose form Vishnu assumed for the purpose of deluding the enemies of the gods: a cha-

racter which plainly points to the religion of Budha, so well known as the rival of that of the Bramins. The tenth is still to come. But all his other forms are thrown into the shade by the incarnations of Ráma and Crishna, who have not only eclipsed their parent Vishnu, in Hindostan at least, but have superseded the worship of the old elementary gods, and indeed of all other gods, except Siva, Súrya, and Ganésa.* Ráma, thus identified with Vishnu by the superstition of his admirers, was a king of Oud, and is almost the only person mentioned in the Hindú traditions whose actions have something of a historical character. He is said to have been at first excluded from his paternal kingdom, and to have passed many years in religious retirement in a forest. His queen, Síta, was carried off by the giant Rávana; for her sake he led an army into the Deckan, penetrated to the island of Ceylon, of which Rávana was king, and recovered Síta, after a complete victory over her ravisher. In that expedition his allies were an army of monkeys, under the command of Hunmán, whose figure is frequently seen in temples, and who, indeed, is at least as much worshipped in the Deckan as Ráma or any of the other gods. Ráma's end, however, was unfortunate; for, having, by his imprudence, caused the death of his brother Lachmen, who had shared with him in all his dangers and successes, he threw himself, in de-

Ráma.

* Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 280.; Wilson, Ibid. vol. xvi. pp. 4. 20.

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spair, into a river, and, as the Hindús say, was reunited to the Divinity. He still, however, retains his individual existence, as is shown by the separate worship so generally paid to him. Ráma is represented in his natural form, and is an object of general adoration. But in this respect he falls far short of the popularity of another deified mortal, whose pretensions are by no means so obvious either as a king or a conqueror. He was born of the royal family of Mattra, on the Jamna; but brought up by a herdsman in the neighbourhood, who concealed him from a tyrant who sought his life.* This is the period which has made most impression on the Hindús, who are never tired of celebrating Crishna's frolics and exploits as a child — his stealing milk, and his destroying serpents; and among whom there is an extensive sect which worships him under his infant form, as the supreme creator and ruler of the universe. Crishna excites equal enthusiasm, especially among his female worshippers, in his youth, which he spent among the gópis, or milkmaids, dancing, sporting, and playing on the pipe; and captivated the hearts, not only of his rural companions, but of the princesses of Hindostan, who had witnessed his beauty.†

Crishna.

As he advanced in years he achieved innumer-

* Tod's Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 533.

† See Sir W. Jones, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 259.; and the translation by the same elegant scholar of the song of Jaya Deva, which, in his hands, affords a pleasing specimen of Hindú pastoral poetry, Ibid. vol. iii. p. 185.

able adventures, and, among the rest, subdued the tyrant, and recovered his inheritance; but, being pressed by foreign enemies, he removed his residence to Dwárika, in Guzerát.* He afterwards appeared as an ally of the family of Pándu, in their war with their relations the Curus†, for the sovereignty of Hastinapúr; a place supposed to be north-east of Delhi, and about forty miles from the point where the Ganges enters Hindostan.

This war forms the subject of the great Hindú heroic poem, the "Mahá Bhárat," of which Crishna is, in fact, the hero. It ended in the success of the Pándus, and in the return of Crishna to his capital in Guzerát. His end also was unfortunate; for he was soon involved in civil discord, and at last was slain by the arrow of a hunter, who shot at him by mistake, in a thicket.‡

Crishna is the greatest favourite with the Hindús of all their divinities. Of the sectaries who revere Vishnu, to the exclusion of the other gods, one sect almost confine their worship to Ráma; but, though composed of an important class, as including many of the ascetics, and some of the boldest speculators in religious inquiry, its numbers and popularity bear no proportion to another division

* Abstract of the "Mahá Bhárat," in *Ward's Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 148.; Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 101.; Colonel Wilford, Ibid. vol. vi. p. 508.

† Ward, vol. iii. p. 148.

‡ Tod, on the authority of a Hindú history, *Rajasthan*, vol. i. p. 50.

of the Váishnava sect, which is attached to the worship of Crishna.

This comprises all the opulent and luxurious, almost all the women, and a very large proportion of all ranks of the Indian society.*

The greater part of these votaries of Crishna maintain that he is not an incarnation of Vishnu, but Vishnu himself, and likewise the eternal and self-existing creator of the universe.†

These are the principal manifestations of Vishnu; but his incarnations or emanations, even as acknowledged in books, are innumerable; and they are still more swelled by others in which he is made to appear under the form of some local saint or hero, whom his followers have been disposed to deify.

The same liberty is taken with other gods: Candoba, the great local divinity of the Marattas, (represented as an armed horseman,) is an incarnation of Siva‡; and the family of Bramins at Chinchór, near Púna, in one of whose members godhead is hereditary, derive their title from an incarnation or emanation of Ganésa.§

Even villages have their local deities, which are often emanations of Siva or Vishnu, or of the corresponding goddesses. But all these incarnations are insignificant, when compared to the

* Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. pp. 85, 86.

† Ibid. vol. xvi. p. 86, &c.

‡ Mr. Coats's Bombay Transactions, vol. iii. p. 198.

§ Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 282.; Captain Moore, Ibid. vol. vii. p. 381.

great ones of Vishnu, and above all to Ráma and Crishna. CHAP. IV.

The wife of Vishnu is Lakshmi. She has no temples; but, being goddess of abundance and of fortune, she continues to be assiduously courted, and is not likely to fall into neglect.

Other gods.

Of the remaining gods, Ganésa and Surya (the sun) are the most generally honoured.

They both have votaries who prefer them to all other gods, and both have temples and regular worship. Ganésa, indeed, has probably more temples in the Deckan than any other god except Siva. Surya is represented in a chariot, with his head surrounded by rays.

Ganésa, or Ganpatti, is a figure of a fat man, with an elephant's head.

None of the remaining nine of the gods enumerated have temples, though most of them seem to have had them in former times.* Some have an annual festival, on which their image is made and worshipped, and next day is thrown into a stream: others are only noticed in prayers. † Indra, in particular, seems to have formerly occupied a much more distinguished place in popular respect than he now enjoys. He is called the Ruler of Heaven and the King of Gods, and was fixed on by an eminent orientalist as the Jupiter of the Hindús ‡; yet is now but seldom noticed.

* Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 20.

† Ward's Hindoos, vol. iii. p. 28, &c.

‡ Sir W. Jones, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 241.

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Cáma, also, the god of love, has undergone a similar fate. He is the most pleasing of the Hindú divinities, and most conformable to European ideas of his nature. Endowed with perpetual youth and surpassing beauty, he exerts his sway over both gods and men. Brahmá, Vishnu, and even the gloomy Siva, have been wounded by his flowery bow and his arrows tipped with blossoms. His temples and groves make a distinguished figure in the tales, poems, and dramas of antiquity*; but he now shares in neglect and disregard with the other nine, except Yama, whose character of judge of the dead makes him still an object of respect and terror.

Each of these gods has his separate heaven, and his peculiar attendants. All are mansions of bliss of immense extent, and all glittering with gold and jewels.

That of Indra is the most fully described; and, besides the usual profusion of golden palaces adorned with precious stones, is filled with streams, groves, and gardens, blooms with an infinity of flowers, and is perfumed by a celestial tree, which grows in the centre, and fills the whole space with its fragrance.

It is illumined by a light far more brilliant than that of the sun; and is thronged with Apsaras and Gandarvas (heavenly nymphs and choristers). Angels of many kinds minister to the inhabitants,

* Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 20.

who are unceasingly entertained with songs and dances, music, and every species of enjoyment. CHAP. IV.

Besides the angels and good genii that inhabit the different heavens, there are various descriptions of spirits spread through the rest of the creation. Good and bad spirits.

The Asúras are the kindred of the gods, disinherited and cast into darkness, but long struggling against their rivals; and bearing a strong resemblance to the Titans of the Grecian mythology.

The Deityas are another species of demon, strong enough to have mustered armies and carried on war with the gods.*

The Rákshasas are also gigantic and malignant beings; and the Pisáchas are of the same nature, though perhaps inferior in power. Bhutas are evil spirits of the lowest order, corresponding to our ghosts and other goblins of the nursery; but in India believed in by all ranks and ages.

A most extensive body of divinities is still to be noticed; although they are not individually acknowledged except in confined districts, and although the legality of their worship is sometimes denied by the Bramins. These are the village gods, of which each village adores two or three, as its especial guardians; but sometimes as its dreaded persecutors and tormentors. They bear some resemblance to the penates or lares of the Romans; and, like them, they are sometimes the Local gods.

* See in particular the legend of Jhalandára, *Kennedy's Researches*, p. 456.

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recognised gods of the whole nation (either in their generally received characters, or in local incarnations); but much oftener they are the spirits of deceased persons, who have attracted the notice of the neighbourhood.

They have seldom temples or images, but are worshipped under the form of a heap of earth.

It is possible that some of them may be ancient gods of the Súdras, who have survived the establishment of the Bramin religion. *

General character of the Hindú religion.

Such is the outline of the religion of the Hindús. To give a conception of its details, it would be necessary to relate some of the innumerable legends of which their mythology is composed, — the churning of the ocean by the gods and asúras, for the purpose of procuring the nectar of immortality, and the subsequent stratagem by which the gods defrauded their coadjutors of the prize obtained; the descent of the Ganges from heaven on the invocation of a saint; its falling with violence on the head of Siva, wandering for years amidst his matted locks, and tumbling at last to the earth, with all its train of fishes, snakes, turtles, and crocodiles; the production of Ganésa, without a father, by the intense wishes of Dévi; his temporary slaughter by Siva, who cut off his head

* Dr. Hamilton Buchanan paid much attention to this subject in his survey of certain districts in Bengal and Behár. He found the village gods were generally spirits of men of the place who had died violent deaths; often of Bramins who had killed themselves to resist or revenge an injury. — MSS. at the India House, published in part by Mr. Montgomery Martin.

and afterwards replaced it with that of an elephant, the first that came to hand in the emergency; — such narratives, with the quarrels of the gods, their occasional loves and jealousies; their wars with men and demons; their defeats, flights, and captivity; their penances and austerities for the accomplishment of their wishes; their speaking weapons; the numerous forms they have assumed, and the delusions with which they have deceived the senses of those whom they wished to injure; — all this would be necessary to show fully the religious opinions of India; but would occupy a space for which the value of the matter would be a very inadequate compensation.

It may be sufficient to observe, that the general character of these legends is extravagance and incongruity. The Greek gods were formed like men, with greatly increased powers and faculties, and acted as men would do if so circumstanced; but with a dignity and energy suited to their nearer approach to perfection. The Hindú gods, on the other hand, though endued with human passions, have always something monstrous in their appearance, and wild and capricious in their conduct. They are of various colours, — red, yellow, and blue; some have twelve heads, and most have four hands. They are often enraged without a cause, and reconciled without a motive. The same deity is sometimes powerful enough to destroy his enemies with a glance, or to subdue them with a wish; and at other times is obliged

to assemble numerous armies to accomplish his purpose, and is very near failing after all.*

The powers of the three great gods are coequal and unlimited; yet are exercised with so little harmony, that, in one of their disputes, Siva cuts off one of Brahmá's heads.† Neither is there any regular subordination of the other gods to the three, or to each other. Indra, who is called the King of Heaven and has been compared to Jupiter, has no authority over any of the rest. These and more incongruities arise, in part, from the desire of different sects to extol their favourite deity; but, as the Puránas are all of authority, it is impossible to separate legends founded on those writings from the general belief of all classes. With all this there is something in the gigantic scale of the Hindú gods, the original character of their sentiments and actions, and the peculiar forms in which they are clothed, and splendour with which they are surrounded, that does not fail to make an impression on the imagination.

The most singular anomaly in the Hindú religion is the power of sacrifices and religious austerities. Through them a religious ascetic can inflict the severest calamities, even on a deity, by his curse; and the most wicked and most impious of mankind may acquire such an ascendancy over the gods as to render them the passive instru-

* Story of Shiva and Jhalandara, *Kennedy's Researches*, p. 456.

† Kennedy's Researches, p. 295.; and Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 4. note.

ments of his ambition, and even to force them to submit their heavens and themselves to his sovereignty. Indra, on being cursed by a Bramin, was hurled from his own heaven, and compelled to animate the body of a cat.* Even Yama, the terrible judge of the dead, is said, in a legend, to have been cursed for an act done in that capacity, and obliged to undergo a transmigration into the person of a slave.†

The danger of all the gods from the sacrifices of one king has appeared in the fifth incarnation of Vishnu; another king actually conquered the three worlds, and forced the gods, except the three chief ones, to fly and to conceal themselves under the shapes of different animals‡; while a third went still further, and compelled the gods to worship him.§

These are a few out of numerous instances of a similar nature; all, doubtless, invented to show the virtue of ritual observances, and thus increase the consequence and profits of the Bramins. But these are rather the traditions of former days, than the opinions by which men are now actuated in relation to the Divinity. The same objects which were formerly to be extorted by sacrifices and austerities are now to be won by faith. The followers of this new principle look with scarcely disguised contempt on the Védas, and all the devotional exercises there enjoined. As no religion

* Ward, vol. iii. p. 31. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 58.
‡ Kennedy's Researches, p. 368. § Ward, vol. iii. p. 75.

ever entirely discards morality, they still inculcate purity of life, and innocence if not virtue; but the sole *essential* is dependence on the particular god of the sect of the individual teacher. Implicit faith and reliance on him make up for all deficiencies in other respects; while no attention to the forms of religion, or to the rules of morality, are of the slightest avail without this all-important sentiment. This system is explained and inculcated in the Bhágwat Gíta, which Mr. Colebrooke regards as the text-book of the school.

It is an uncommon, though not exclusive, feature in the Hindú religion, that the gods enjoy only a limited existence: at the end of a cycle of prodigious duration, the universe ceases to exist; the triad and all the other gods lose their being; and the Great First Cause of all remains alone in infinite space. After the lapse of ages, his power is again exerted; and the whole creation, with all its human and divine inhabitants, rises once more into existence.

One can hardly believe that so many rude and puerile fables, as most of those above related, are not the relics of the earliest and most barbarous times; but even the sacred origin of the Christian religion did not prevent its being clouded, after the decay of learning, with superstitions proportionately as degrading; and we may therefore believe, with the best informed orientalists, that the Hindú system once existed in far greater purity, and has sunk into its present state along

with the decline of all other branches of knowledge. CHAP. IV.

In the above observations I have abstained from all reference to the religion of other countries. It is possible that antiquarians may yet succeed in finding a connection, in principles or in origin, between the mythology of India and that of Greece or of Egypt; but the external appearances are so different, that it would quite mislead the imagination of the reader to attempt to illustrate them by allusions to either of those superstitions.

Future state.

It only remains to say a few words on the belief of the Hindús relating to a future state. Their peculiar doctrine, as is well known, is transmigration; but they believe that, between their different stages of existence, they will, according to their merits, enjoy thousands of years of happiness in some of the heavens already described, or suffer torments of similar duration in some of their still more numerous hells. Hope, however, seems to be denied to none: the most wicked man, after being purged of his crimes by ages of suffering and by repeated transmigrations, may ascend in the scale of being, until he may enter into heaven, and even attain the highest reward of all the good, which is incorporation in the essence of God.

Their descriptions of the future states of bliss and penance are spirited and poetical. The good, as soon as they leave the body, proceed to the abode of Yama, through delightful paths, under the shade of fragrant trees, among streams covered with the lotos.

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Showers of flowers fall on them as they pass; and the air resounds with the hymns of the blessed, and the still more melodious strains of angels. The passage of the wicked is through dark and dismal paths; sometimes over burning sand, sometimes over stones that cut their feet at every step: they travel naked, parched with thirst, covered with dirt and blood, amidst showers of hot ashes and burning coals: they are terrified with frequent and horrible apparitions, and fill the air with their shrieks and wailing.* The hells to which they are ultimately doomed are conceived in the same spirit, and described with a mixture of sublimity and minuteness that almost recalls the "Inferno."

Moral effects.

These rewards and punishments are often well apportioned to the moral merits and demerits of the deceased; and they no doubt exercise considerable influence over the conduct of the living. But, on the other hand, the efficacy ascribed to faith, and to the observance of the forms of devotion, and the facility of expiating crimes by penances, are, unfortunately, prevailing characteristics of this religion, and have a strong tendency to weaken its effect in supporting the principles of morality.

Its indirect influence on its votaries is even more injurious than these defects. Its gross superstition debases and debilitates the mind; and its exclusive view to repose in this world, and absorption here-

* Ward on the Hindoos, vol. iii. p. 374.

after, destroys the great stimulants to virtue afforded by love of enterprise and of posthumous fame. Its usurpations over the provinces of law and science tend to keep knowledge fixed at the point to which it had attained at the time of the pretended revelation by the Divinity; and its interference in the minutiæ of private manners extirpates every habit and feeling of free agency, and reduces life to a mechanical routine. When individuals are left free, improvements take place as they are required; and a nation is entirely changed in the course of a few generations without an effort on the part of any of its members; but when religion has interposed, it requires as much boldness to take the smallest step, as to pass over the innovations of a century at a stride; and a man must be equally prepared to renounce his faith and the communion of his friends, whether he merely makes a change in his diet, or embraces a whole body of doctrines, religious and political, at variance with those established among his countrymen.

It is within its own limits that it has been least successful in opposing innovation. The original revelation, indeed, has not been questioned; but different degrees of importance have been attached to particular parts of it, and different constructions put on the same passages; and as there is neither a ruling council nor a single head to settle disputed points, and to enforce uniformity in practice, various sects have sprung up, which differ from each other both in their tenets and their practice.

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Sects.

There are three principal sects*: the Sáivas (followers of Siva), the Váishnavas (followers of Vishnu), and the Sáktas (followers of some one of the Saktis; that is, the female associates or active powers of the members of the triad).

Each of these sects branches into various subordinate ones, depending on the different characters under which its deity is worshipped, or on the peculiar religious and metaphysical opinions which each has grafted on the parent stock. The Sáktas have three additional divisions of a more general character, depending on the particular goddesses whom they worship. The followers of Dévi (the spouse of Siva), however, are out of all comparison more numerous than both the others put together.

Besides the three great sects, there are small ones, which worship Surya and Gunésa respectively; and others which, though preserving the form of Hindúism, approach very near to pure deism.

The Sikhs (who will be mentioned hereafter) have founded a sect involving such great innovations, that it may almost be regarded as a new religion.

It must not be supposed that every Hindú belongs to one or other of the above sects. They, on the contrary, are alone reckoned orthodox

* Almost the whole of the following statements regarding the sects are taken from Professor Wilson's essays on that subject, in vols. xvi. and xvii. of the "Asiatic Researches."

who profess a comprehensive system opposed to the exclusive worship of particular divinities, and who draw their ritual from the Védas, Puránas, and other sacred books, rejecting the ceremonies derived from other sources. To this class the apparent mass of the Braminical order, at least, still belongs.* But probably, even among them, all but the more philosophical religionists have a bias to one or the other of the contending divinities; and the same may be said more decidedly of all such of the lower casts as are not careless of every thing beyond the requisite ritual observances. It has been remarked that incarnations of Vishnu are the principal objects of popular predilection. In all Bengal and Hindostan it is to those incarnations that the religious feelings of the people are directed; and, though the temples and emblems of Siva are very common, the worshippers are few, and seem inspired with little veneration.

Siva, it appears, has always been the patron god of the Bramin class, but has never much excited the imaginations of the people.* Even where his sect ostensibly prevails, the great body of the inhabitants are much more attracted by the human feelings and interesting adventures of Ráma and Crishna. The first of the two is the great object of devotion (with the regular orders at least) on the banks of the Jamna and the north-western part of the Ganges; but Crishna prevails, in his

* Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 2.

† Ibid. vol. xvii. p. 169.

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turn, along the lower course of the Ganges *, and all the centre and west of Hindostan.† Ráma, however, is every where revered; and his name, twice repeated, is the ordinary salutation among all classes of Hindús.

The Sáivas, in all places, form a considerable portion of the regular orders: among the people they are most numerous in the Mysore and Maratta countries. Further south, the Váishnavas prevail; but *there* the object of worship is Vishnu, not in his human form of Ráma or Crishna, but in his abstract character, as preserver and ruler of the universe.‡ Sáktas, or votaries of the female divinity, are mixed with the rest; but are most numerous in particular places. Three fourths of the population of Bengal worship goddesses, and most of them Dévi.§

In most of these instances the difference of sects, though often bitter, is not conspicuous. Europeans are seldom distinctly aware of their existence, unless they have learned it from the writings of Mr. Colebrooke, Mr. Wilson, or Dr. Hamilton Buchanan. Even the painted marks on the forehead, by which each man's sect is shown, although the most singular peculiarity of the Hindû dress, have failed to convey the information they are designed for, and have

* Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 52.

† Tod's Rajasthan.

‡ Buchanan MSS. at the India House. These may be either the strictly orthodox Hindûs, or followers of Rámanûj.

§ Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 210–221.

been taken for marks of the *cast*, not the sect, of the wearer.

Persons desirous of joining a sect are admitted by a sort of initiation, the chief part of which consists in whispering by the guru (or religious instructor) of a short and secret form of words, which so far corresponds to the communication of the gayatri at the initiation of a Bramin.

The sects are of very different degrees of antiquity.

The separate worship of the three great gods and their corresponding goddesses is probably very ancient *; but when the assertion of the supremacy of one or other began (in which the peculiarity of the present sects consists) is not so clear. It is probably much more modern than the mere separate worship of the great gods.

It seems nearly certain that the sects founded on the worship of particular incarnations, as Ráma, Crishna, &c., are later than the beginning of the eighth century of the Christian æra.†

The number of sects has, doubtless, been in-

* Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 218. The same gentleman points out a convincing proof of the early worship of the spouse of Siva. A temple to her, under her title of Comári (from which the neighbouring promontory, Cape Comorin, derives its name,) is mentioned in the "Periplus," attributed to Arrian, and probably written in the second century of our æra.

† They are not mentioned in a work written in the eleventh century, but professing to exhibit the tenets of the different sects at the time of Sancara Achárya, who lived in the eighth century. — Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 14.

New ritual.

creased by the disuse of the Védas, the only source from which the Hindú religion could be obtained in purity. The use of those scriptures was confined to the three twice-born classes, of which two are now regarded as extinct, and the remaining one is greatly fallen off from its original duties. It may have been owing to these circumstances that the old ritual was disused, and a new one has since sprung up, suited to the changes which have arisen in religious opinion.

It is embodied in a comparatively modern collection of hymns, prayers, and incantations, which, mixed with portions of the Védas, furnishes now what may be called the Hindú service.* It is exhibited by Mr. Colebrooke, in three separate essays, in the fifth and seventh volumes of the "Asiatic Researches."

The difference between the spirit of this ritual and that of which we catch occasional views in Menu is less than might have been expected. The long instructions for the forms of ablution, meditation on the gayatri, &c., are consistent with the religion of the Védas, and might have existed in Menu's time, though he had no occasion to mention them. The objects of adoration are in a great measure the same, being deities of the elements and powers of nature. The mention of Crishna is, of course, an innovation; but it occurs seldom.

* Ward's Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 362.

Among other new practices are meditations on Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva, in their corporeal form; and, above all, the frequent mention of Vishnu with the introduction of the text "Thrice did Vishnu step, &c.," a passage in the Védas, which seems to imply an allusion to the fifth incarnation *, and, perhaps, owes the frequent introduction of it to the paucity of such acknowledgments.

Mr. Colebrooke avowedly confines himself to the five sacraments which existed in Menu's time; but there is a new sort of worship never alluded to in the Institutes, which now forms one of the principal duties of every Hindú. This is the worship of images, before whom many prostrations and other acts of adoration must daily be performed, accompanied with burning incense, offerings of flowers and fruits, and sometimes of dressed victuals. Many idols are also attired by their votaries, and decorated with jewels and other ornaments, and are treated in all respects as if they were human beings.

The Hindú ceremonies are numerous, but far from impressive; and their liturgy, judging from the specimen afforded by Mr. Colebrooke, though not without a few fine passages, is in general tedious and insipid. Each man goes through his daily devotions alone, in his own house, or at any temple, stream, or pool that suits him; so that the want of interest in his addresses to the divinity

* See page 172.

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is not compensated by the effect of sympathy in others.

Although the service (as it may be termed) is changed, the occasions for using it remain the same as those formerly enumerated from Menu. The same ceremonies must be performed, from conception to the grave; and the same regular course of prayers, sacrifices, and oblations must be gone through every day. More liberty, however, is taken in shortening them than was recognised in Menu's Code, however it might have been in the *practice* of his age.

A strict Bramin, performing his full ceremonies, would still be occupied for not less than four hours in the day. But even a Bramin, if engaged in worldly affairs, may perform all his religious duties within half an hour; and a man of the lower classes contents himself with repeating the name of his patron deity while he bathes.*

Ascendancy of the monastic orders.

The increase of sects is both the cause and consequence of the ascendancy of the monastic orders. Each of these is in general devoted to some particular divinity, and its importance is founded on the veneration in which its patron is held. They therefore inculcate faith in that divinity as the means of attaining all wishes and covering all sins; and, in addition to this, they claim for themselves *through life* an implicit submission from their followers, such as the Bramin

* Ward on the Hindoos.

religious instructor in Menu required from his pupil during his period of probation alone. 

To this is to be ascribed the encroachments which those orders have made on the spiritual authority of the Bramins, and the feelings of rivalry and hostility with which the two classes regard each other.

The Bramins, on their part, have not failed to profit by the example of the Gosáyens, having taken on themselves the conduct of sects in the same manner as their rivals. Of the eighty-four Gurus (or spiritual chiefs) of the sect of Rámanúj, for instance, seventy-nine are secular Bramins.*

The power of these heads of sects is one of the most remarkable innovations in the Hindú system. Many of them in the south (especially those of regular orders) have large establishments, supported by grants of land and contributions from their flock. Their income is chiefly spent in charity, but they maintain a good deal of state, especially on their circuits, where they are accompanied by elephants, flags, &c., like temporal dignitaries, are followed by crowds of disciples, and are received with honour by all princes whose countries they enter. Their function is, indeed, an important one, being no less than an inspection of the state of morals and cast, involving the duties and powers of a censor.†

* Buchanan's Journey, vol. i. p. 144.; vol. ii. pp. 74, 75.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 21., and other places.

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## *Religion of the Báudhas and Jáinas.*

There are two other religions, which, although distinct from that of the Hindús, appear to belong to the same stock, and which seem to have shared with it in the veneration of the people of India, before the introduction of an entirely foreign faith by the Mahometans.

These are the religions of the Báudhas (or worshippers of Budha) and the Jáins.

They both resemble the Bramin doctrines in their character of quietism, in their tenderness of animal life, and in the belief of repeated transmigrations, of various hells for the purification of the wicked, and heavens for the solace of the good. The great object of all three is, the ultimate attainment of a state of perfect apathy, which, in our eyes, seems little different from annihilation; and the means employed in all are, the practice of mortification and of abstraction from the cares and feelings of humanity.

The differences from the Hindú belief are no less striking than the points of resemblance, and are most so in the religion of the Báudhas.

The Báudhas, or Budhists.

The most ancient of the Báudha sects entirely denies the being of God; and some of those which admit the existence of God refuse to acknowledge him as the creator or ruler of the universe.

According to the ancient atheistical sect, nothing exists but matter, which is eternal. The power of organisation is inherent in matter; and although

the universe perishes from time to time, this quality restores it after a period, and carries it on towards new decay and regeneration, without the guidance of any external agent.

The highest rank in the scale of existence is held by certain beings called Budhas, who have raised themselves by their own actions and austerities, during a long series of transmigrations in this and former worlds, to the state of perfect inactivity and apathy which is regarded as the great object of desire.

Even this atheistical school includes intelligence and design among the properties inherent in every particle of matter; and another sect* endeavours to explain those qualities more intelligibly by uniting them in one, and, perhaps, combining them with consciousness, so as to give them a sort of personality; but the being formed by this combination remains in a state of perpetual repose, his qualities operating on the other portions of matter without exertion or volition on his part.

The next approach to theism, and generally included in that creed, is the opinion that there is a Supreme Being†, eternal, immaterial, intelligent, and also endued with free will and moral qualities; but remaining, as in the last-mentioned system, in a state of perpetual repose. With one division of those who believe in such a Divinity, he is the sole eternal and self-existing principle; but another

* The Prájnikas.

† Called A'di Budha, or supreme intelligence.

division associates matter with him as a separate deity, and supposes a being formed by the union of the other two to be the real originator of the universe.

But the action of the Divinity is not, in any theory, carried beyond producing by his will the emanation of five (or some say seven) Budhas from his own essence; and from these Budhas proceed, in like manner, five (or seven) other beings called Bhódisatwas, each of whom, in his turn, is charged with the creation of a world.

But so essential is quiescence to felicity and perfection, according to Budhist notions, that even the Bhódisatwas are relieved as much as possible from the task of maintaining their own creations. Some speculators, probably, conceive that each constitutes the universe according to laws which enable it to maintain *itself*; others suppose inferior agents created for the purpose; and, according to one doctrine, the Bhódhisatwa of the existing world produced the well-known Hindú triad, on whom he devolved his functions of creating, preserving, and destroying.

There are different opinions regarding the Budhas, who have risen to that rank by transmigrations. Some think with the atheistical school that they are separate productions of nature, like other men, and retain an independent existence after arriving at the much desired state of rest; while the other sects allege that they are emanations from the Supreme Being, through some of the other

Budhas or Bhódisatwas, and are ultimately rewarded by absorption into the divine essence.

There have been many of these human Budhas in this and former worlds * ; but the seven last are particularly noticed, and above all the last, whose name was Gótama or Sakya, who revealed the present religion, and established the rules of worship and morality ; and who, although long since passed into a higher state of existence, is considered as the religious head of the world, and will continue so until he has completed his allotted period of five thousand years.

Beneath this class of Budhas are an infinite number of different degrees, apparently consisting of mere men who have made approaches towards the higher stages of perfection by the sanctity of their lives.

Besides the chain of Budhas, there are innumerable other celestial and terrestrial beings, some original, and others transferred, unchanged, from the Hindú Pantheon. †

* Mr. Hodgson (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 446.) gives a list of 130 Budhas of the first order.

† The above account of the Báudha tenets is chiefly taken from the complete and distinct view of that religion given by Mr. Hodgson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 435—445. ; but I have also consulted his "Proofs, &c." and his other papers in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of London*, and in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta ;* as well as those of M. Abel Remusat, in the *Journal des Savans* for A. D. 1831, and in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* for the same year ; those of M. Csoma di Körös, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta ;* those of M. Joinville and Major Mahony in vol. vii. of

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The Budhists of different countries differ in many particulars from each other. Those of Nepál seem most imbued with the Hindú superstitions, though even in China, the general character of the religion is clearly Indian.

The theistical sect seems to prevail in Nepal *, and the atheistical to subsist in perfection in Ceylon. †

In China, M. Abel Remusat considers the atheistical to be the vulgar doctrine, and the theistical to be the esoteric. ‡

The Báudhas differ in many other respects from the Bramins: they deny the authority of the Védas and Puránas; they have no cast; even the priests are taken from all classes of the community, and bear much greater resemblance to European monks than to any of the Hindú ministers of religion. They live in monasteries, wear a uniform yellow dress, go with their feet bare and their heads and beards shaved, and perform a constant succession of regular service at their chapel in a body; and, in their processions, their chaunting,

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the *Asiatic Researches*; together with Professor Wilson's observations in his history of Cashmír (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi.), and in his account of the Jáins (vol. xvii.); and likewise the answers of Báudha priests in *Upham's Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*, vol. iii.

* Mr. Hodgson.

† See answers to questions in Upham, vol. iii. I presume these answers may be depended on, whatever may be the case with the historical writings in the same work.

‡ Journal des Savans for November, 1831.

their incense, and their candles bear a strong resemblance to the ceremonies of the Catholic church.* They have nothing of the freedom of the Hindú monastic orders; they are strictly bound to celibacy, and renounce most of the pleasures of sense †; they eat together in one hall; sleep *sitting* in a prescribed posture, and seem never allowed to leave the monastery, except once a-week, when they march in a body to bathe ‡, and for part of every day, when they go to beg for the community, or rather to receive alms, for they are not permitted to ask for anything.§ The monks, however, only perform service in the temples attached to their own monasteries, and to them the laity do not seem to be admitted, but pay their own devotions at other temples, out of the limits of the convents.

Nunneries for women seem also, at one time, to have been general.

The Báudha religionists carry their respect for animal life much further than the Bramins: their priests do not eat after noon, nor drink after dark, for fear of swallowing minute insects; and they carry a brush on all occasions, with which they

* Mr. Davis, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 491.; Turner's *Tibet.*

† Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii. p. 273.

‡ Mr. Davis, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 495.; and Knox, Ibid. vol. iii. p. 277.

§ Captain Mahoney, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 42.; and Mr. Knox, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. p. 277.

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carefully sweep every place before they sit down, lest they should inadvertently crush any living creature. Some even tie a thin cloth over their mouths to prevent their drawing in small insects with their breath.* They differ from the Bramins in their want of respect for fire, and in their veneration for relics of their holy men; a feeling unknown to the Hindús. Over these relics (a few hairs, a bone, or a tooth) they erect those solid cupolas, or bell-shaped monuments, which are often of stupendous size, and which are so great a characteristic of their religion.

The Budhas are represented standing upright, but more generally seated cross-legged, erect, but in an attitude of deep meditation, with a placid countenance, and always with curled hair.

Besides the temples and monuments, in countries where the Báudhas still subsist, there are many magnificent remains of them in India.

The most striking of these are cave temples, in the Peninsula. Part of the wonderful excavations of Ellora are of this description; but the finest is at Cárla, between Púna and Bombay, which, from its great length and height, the colonnades which run along the sides like aisles, and the vaulted and ribbed roof, strongly recalls the idea of a Gothic church.†

* The laity eat animal food without restraint; even the priests may eat it if no animal is killed on their account.

† The distinctions between the Báudhas and Hindús are mostly from an essay by Mr. Erskine, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 503, &c.

The Báudhas have a very extensive body of literature, all on the Bramin model, and all originally from India.* It is now preserved in the local dialects of various countries, in many of which the long-established art of printing has contributed much to the diffusion of books.

Páli, or the local dialect of Maghada, (one of the ancient kingdoms on the Ganges, in which Sakya or Gótama flourished,) seems to be the language generally used in the religious writings of the Báudhas, although its claim to be their sacred language is disputed in favour of Shanscrit and of other local dialects springing from that root.

The Jáinas or Jàins.

The Jáins hold an intermediate place between the followers of Budha and Brahma.†

They agree with the Báudhas in denying the existence, or at least the activity and providence, of God; in believing the eternity of matter; in the worship of deified saints; in their scrupulous care of animal life, and all the precautions which it leads to; in their having no hereditary priesthood; in disclaiming the divine authority of the Védas; and in having no sacrifices, and no respect for fire.

They agree with the Báudhas also in considering a state of impassive abstraction as supreme

* Mr. Hodgson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 433.; Dr. Buchanan, Ibid. vol. vi. p. 194. 225., and other places.

† The characteristics of the Jáins, as compared with the Báudhas and Bramins, are mostly taken from Mr. Erskine, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 506.

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felicity, and in all the doctrines which they hold in common with the Hindus.

They agree with the Hindús in other points; such as division of cast. This exists in full force in the south and west of India; and can only be said to be dormant in the north-east; for, though the Jáins there do not acknowledge the four classes of the Hindús, yet a Jáin converted to the Hindú religion takes his place in one of the casts; from which he must all along have retained the proofs of his descent; and the Jáins themselves have numerous divisions of their own, the members of which are as strict in avoiding intermarriages and other intercourse as the four classes of the Hindús.*

Though they reject the scriptural character of the Védas, they allow them great authority in all points not at variance with their religion. The principal objections to them are drawn from the bloody sacrifices which they enjoin, and the loss of animal life which burnt-offerings are liable (though undesignedly) to occasion.†

They admit the whole of the Hindú gods, and worship some of them; though they consider them as entirely subordinate to their own saints, who are therefore the proper objects of adoration.

Besides these points common to the Bramins or

* De la Maine, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 413.; Colebrooke, Ibid. vol. i. p. 549.; Buchanan, Ibid. vol. i. p. 531, 532.; Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 239.

† Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 248.

Báudhas, they hold some opinions peculiar to themselves. The chief objects of their worship are a limited number of saints, who have raised themselves by austerities to a superiority over the gods, and who exactly resemble those of the Báudhas in appearance and general character, but are entirely distinct from them in their names and individual histories. They are called Tirtankaras: there are twenty-four for the present age, but twenty-four also for the past, and twenty-four for the future.

Those most worshipped are, in some places, Rishoba*; the first of the present Tirtankaras, but every where Parasnáth and Mahávíra, the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of the number.† As all but the two last bear a fabulous character in their dimensions and length of life, it has been conjectured, with great appearance of truth, that these two are the real founders of the religion. All remain alike in the usual state of apathetic beatitude, and take no share in the government of the world.‡

Some changes are made by the Jáins in the rank and circumstances of the Hindú gods. They give no preference to the greater gods of the Hindús; and they have increased the number of gods, and added to the absurdities of the system:

* De la Maine, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 424.

† Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 248.

‡ Ibid. vol. xvii. p. 270.

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thus they have sixty-four Indras, and twenty-two Dévis.*

They have no veneration for relics, and no monastic establishments. Their priests are called Jatis; they are of all casts, and their dress, though distinguishable from that of the Bramins, bears some resemblance to it. They wear very large loose white mantles, with their heads bare, and their hair and beard clipped; and carry a black rod and a brush for sweeping away animals. They subsist by alms. They never bathe, perhaps in opposition to the incessant ablutions of the Bramins.

The Jáin temples are generally very large and handsome; often flat roofed, and like private houses, with courts and colonnades; but sometimes resembling Hindú temples, and sometimes circular and surrounded by colossal statues of the Tirtankaras.† The walls are painted with their peculiar legends, mixed, perhaps, with those of the Hindús. Besides images, they have marble altars, with the figures of saints in relief, and with impressions of the footsteps of holy men; a memorial which they have in common with the Báudhas.

By far the finest specimen of Jáin temples of the Hindú form are the noble remains in white marble on the mountain of Ábu, to the north of

* De la Maine, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 422.

† There is a magnificent one of this description near Ahmedábád, built under ground, and said to have been designed for concealed worship during the persecution by the Hindús.

Guzerát. There are Jáin caves also, on a great scale, at Ellóra, Nássik, and other places, and there is, near Chinráipatan, in the Mysore, a statue of one of the Tirtankaras, cut out of a rock, which has been guessed at different heights, from fifty-four feet to seventy feet.

The Jáins have a considerable body of learning, resembling that of the Bramins, but far surpassing even the extravagance of the Braminical chronology and geography; increasing to hundreds of millions what was already sufficiently absurd at millions. Their sacred language is Magadi or Páli.

Comparative antiquity of those religions and that of Brahmá.

A question has arisen which of the three religions above described was first established in India. It resolves itself into a discussion of the claims of those of Budha and Brahmá. Admitting the common origin of the two systems, which the similarity of the fundamental tenets would appear to prove, the weight of the arguments adduced appears to lean to the side of the Bramins*; and an additional reason may perhaps be drawn from the improbability that the Báudha system could ever have been an original one.

A man as yet unacquainted with religious feelings would imbibe his first notions of a God from the perception of powers superior to his own. Even if the idea of a quiescent Divinity could enter his mind, he would have no motive to adore it, but

* The arguments on both sides are summed up by Mr. Erskine, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 497.

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would rather endeavour to propitiate the sun, on which he depended for warmth, or the heavens, which terrified him with their thunders. Still less would he commence by the worship of saints; for sanctity is only conformity to religious notions already established; and a religion must have obtained a strong hold on a people before they would be disposed to deify their fellows for a strict adherence to its injunctions; especially if they neither supposed them to govern the world, nor to mediate with its ruler.

The Hindú religion presents a more natural course. It rose from the worship of the powers of nature to theism, and then declined into scepticism with the learned, and man worship with the vulgar.

The doctrines of the Sankya school of philosophers seem reflected in the atheism of the Báudha; while the hero worship of the common Hindús, and their extravagant veneration for religious ascetics, are much akin to the deification of saints among the Báudhas. We are led, therefore, to suppose the Bramin faith to have originated in early times, and that of Budha to have branched off from it at a period when its orthodox tenets had reached their highest perfection, if not shown a tendency to decline.

The historical information regarding these religions tends to the same conclusion. The Védas are supposed to have been arranged in their present form about the fourteenth century before

Christ, and the religion they teach must have made considerable previous progress; while that of Budha lays no claim to a higher antiquity than the twelfth century before Christ; scarcely one even of its most zealous advocates goes beyond the tenth or eleventh century before Christ, and the best authenticated accounts limit it to the sixth.

All the nations professing the religion of Budha concur in referring its origin to India.* They unite in representing the founder to have been a Sakya Múni or Gótama, a native of Cápila, north of Górakpúr. By one account he was a Cshetrya, and by others the son of a king. Even the Hindús confirm this account, making him a Cshetrya, and son to a king of the solar race. They are not so well agreed about the date of his appearance; the Indians, and the people of Ava, Siam, and Ceylon, fix near the middle of the sixth century before Christ†, an epoch which is borne out by various particulars in the list of kings of Magada.

* For the Chinese, see De Guignes, *Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, vol. xl. p. 187, &c.; Abel Remusat, *Journal des Savans* for November, 1831; and the Summary in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, vol. vii. pp. 239, 240.; and likewise the Essay in the next month, p. 241. For the Mongols, see M. Klaproth, *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, vol. vii., especially p. 182. and the following pages. For Ceylon, see *Turnour's Maháwanso*, with which the scriptures of Ava and Siam are identical. (Introduction, p. xxx.) For Tibet, see M. Csoma de Körös, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*, vol. i. p. 1.

† See *Turnour's Maháwanso;* Chronological Table from *Crawford's Embassy to Ava* (given in *Prinsep's Useful Tables*, p. 132.); see also *Useful Tables*, pp. 77, 78.

The Cashmirians, on the other hand, place Sakya 1332 years before Christ; the Chinese, Mongols, and Japanese about 1000; and of thirteen Tibetian authors referred to in the same "Oriental Magazine," four give an average of 2959; and nine of 835*; while the great religious work of Tibet, by asserting that the general council held by Asóca was 110 years after Budha's death†, brings down that event to less than 400 years before Christ, as Asóca will be shown, on incontestable evidence, to have lived less than 300 years before our æra.‡

One Chinese author also differs from the rest, fixing 688 years before Christ§; and the Chinese and Japanese tables, which make the period of Sakya's eminence 999 years before Christ, say that it occurred during the reign of Ajata Satru, whose place in the list of Magada kings shows him to have lived in the sixth century before Christ.

These discrepancies are too numerous to be removed by the supposition that they refer to an earlier and a later Budha; and that expedient is also precluded by the identity of the name, Sakya, and of every circumstance in the lives of the persons to whom such different dates are assigned. We must, therefore, either pronounce the Indian

* See their various dates in the "Oriental Magazine," vol. iv. pp. 106, 107.; and Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 92.

† Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, vol. i. p. 6.

‡ See p. 264, &c.

§ De Guignes, *Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, vol. xl. p. 195.

Báudhas to be ignorant of the date of a religion which arose among themselves, and at the same time must derange the best established part of the Hindu chronology; or admit that an error must have occurred in Cashmír or Tibet, through which places it crept into the more eastern countries, when they received the religion of Budha many centuries after the death of its founder. As the latter seems by much the most probable explanation, we may safely fix the death of Budha about 550 B. C.

The Indian origin of the Báudhas would appear, independently of direct evidence, from the facts that their theology, mythology, philosophy, geography, chronology, &c. are almost entirely of the Hindú family; and all the terms used in those sciences are Shanscrit. Even Budha (intelligence), and Adi Budha (supreme intelligence), are well-known Shanscrit words.

We have no precise information regarding the early progress of this religion. It was triumphant in Hindostan in the reign of Asóca, about the middle of the third century before Christ.* It was introduced by his missionaries into Ceylon in the end of the same century.†

It probably spread at an early period into Tartary and Tibet, but was not introduced into China

* See *Turnour's Maháwanso*, and translations of contemporary inscriptions in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta* for February, 1838.

† In 307 B.C. *Turnour's Maháwanso*, Introduction, p. xxix., and other places.

until A. D. 65, when it was brought direct from India, and was not fully established till A. D. 310.*

The progress of its decline in its original seat is recorded by a Chinese traveller, who visited India on a religious expedition in the first years of the fifth century after Christ.† He found Budhism flourishing in the tract between China and India, but declining in the Panjáb, and languishing in the last stage of decay in the countries on the Ganges and Jamna. Cápila, the birthplace of Budha, was ruined and deserted, —"a wilderness untenanted by man." His religion was in full vigour in Ceylon, but had not yet been introduced into Java, which island was visited by the pilgrim on his return by sea to China.

The religion of Budha afterwards recovered its importance in some parts of India. Its adherents were refuted, persecuted, and probably chased from the Deckan, by Sancara Achárya, in the eighth or ninth century, if not by Camarilla, at an earlier period; but they appear to have possessed sovereignty in Hindostan in the eighth century, and even to have been the prevailing sect at Benáres as late as the eleventh century‡, and in the north of Guzerát as late as the twelfth century of our æra.§

* De Guignes, *Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, vol. xl. p. 251, 252.; and *Histoires des Huns*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 235, 236.

† Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. IX. p. 108, &c., particularly p. 139.

‡ Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 282.

§ Mr. Erskine, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 533., with Major Kennedy's note.

They do not now exist in the plains of India, but their religion is the established one in Ceylon, and in some of the mountainous countries to the north-east of the provinces on the Ganges. Budhism is also the faith of the Burman empire, of Tibet, of Siam, and all the countries between India and China. It is very general in the latter country, and extends over a great part of Chinese and Russian Tartary; so that it has been said, with apparent truth, to be professed by a greater portion of the human race than any other religion.

The Jáins appear to have originated in the sixth or seventh century of our æra; to have become conspicuous in the eighth or ninth century; got to the highest prosperity in the eleventh, and declined after the twelfth.* Their principal seats seem to have been in the southern parts of the peninsula, and in Guzerát and the west of Hindostan. They seem never to have had much success in the provinces on the Ganges.

They appear to have undergone several persecutions by the Bramins, in the south of India, at least. †

The Jáins are still very numerous, especially in Guzerát, the Rájpút country and Cánara; they are generally an opulent and mercantile class; many of them are bankers, and possess a large proportion of the commercial wealth of India. ‡

* Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 283.

† Buchanan, vol. i. p. 81.

‡ Tod's Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 518.; Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 294. See also *Buchanan's Journey*, vol. iii. pp. 19. 76—84. 131. 410.

## CHAP. V.

### PRESENT STATE OF PHILOSOPHY.

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The subject of philosophy is not one upon which Menu professes to treat. It is, however, incidentally mentioned in his first chapter, and it has occupied too great a portion of the attention of the Hindús of later days to be omitted in any account of their genius and character.

The first chapter of the Institutes is evidently an exposition of the belief of the compiler, and (unlike the laws which have been framed in various ages) probably represents the state of opinion as it stood in his time.

The topics on which it treats — the nature of God and the soul, the creation, and other subjects, physical and metaphysical—are too slightly touched on to show whether any of the present schools of philosophy were then in their present form; but the minute points alluded to as already known, and the use of the terms still employed, as if quite intelligible to its readers, prove that the discussions which have given rise to their different systems were already perfectly familiar to the Hindús.

Six principal schools.

The present state of the science will be best shown by inquiring into the tenets of those schools.

There are six ancient schools of philosophy recognised among the Hindús. Some of these are avowedly inconsistent with the religious doctrines of the Bramins; and others, though perfectly orthodox, advance opinions not stated in the Védas.

These schools are enumerated in the following order by Mr. Colebrooke.*

1. The prior Mímánsá, founded by Jáimani.

2. The latter Mímánsá, or Védánta, attributed to Vyása.

3. The Niyáya, or logical school of Gótama.

4. The Atomic school of Canáde.

5. The Atheistical school of Capila.

6. The Theistical school of Patanjali.

The two last schools agree in many points, and are included in the common name of Sánkya.

This division does not give a complete idea of the present state of philosophy. The prior Mímánsa, which teaches the art of reasoning with the express view of aiding the interpretation of the Védas, is, so far, only a school of criticism; and its object, being to ascertain the duties enjoined in those scriptures, is purely religious, and gives it no claim to a place among the schools of philosophy. On the other hand, the remaining schools have branched into various subdivisions, each of which is entitled to be considered as a separate school, and to form an addition to the original number. It would be foreign to my object to enter on all the distinctions

* Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 19.

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between those philosophical systems. An outline of the two most contrasted of the six principal schools, with a slight notice of the rest, will be sufficient to give an idea of the progress made by the nation in this department of science.

The two schools selected for this summary examination, are the Sánkya and Védánta. The first maintains the eternity of matter, and its principal branch denies the being of God. The other school derives all things from God, and one sect denies the reality of matter.

All the Indian systems, atheistical as well as theistical, agree in their object, which is, to teach the means of obtaining beatitude, or, in other words, exemption from metempsychosis, and deliverance from all corporeal incumbrances.

*Sankya School, Atheistical and Theistical.*

Purpose of knowledge.

This school is divided, as has been mentioned, into two branches, that of Capila, which is atheistical, and that of Patanjali, acknowledging God; but both agree in the following opinions * : —

Deliverance can only be gained by true and perfect knowledge.†

This knowledge consists in discriminating the principles, perceptible and imperceptible, of the material world, from the sensitive and cognitive principle, which is the immaterial soul. ‡

* Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 31.

† Ibid. p. 26. ‡ Ibid. p. 27.

Means of attaining knowledge.

True knowledge is attained by three kinds of evidence: perception, inference, and affirmation (or testimony).*

Principles.

The principles of which a knowledge is thus derived, are twenty-five in number †, viz.: —

1. Nature, the root or plastic origin of all; the universal material cause. It is eternal matter; undiscrete, destitute of parts; productive, but not produced.

2. Intelligence; the first production of nature, increate ‡, prolific; being itself productive of other principles.

3. Consciousness, which proceeds from intelligence, and the peculiar function of which is the sense of self-existence, the belief that "I am."

4. to 8. From consciousness spring five particles, rudiments, or atoms, productive of the five elements. §

9. to 19. From consciousness also spring eleven organs of sense and action. Ten are external; five instruments of the senses (the eye, ear, &c.), and five instruments of action (the voice, the hands, the feet, &c.): The eleventh organ is in-

* Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 28.

† Ibid. p. 29—31.

‡ The contradiction between the two first terms might be explained by supposing that intelligence, though depending on nature for its existence, is co-eternal with the principle from which it is derived.

§ Rather, rudiments of the perceptions by which the elements are made known to the mind; as sound, the rudiment of ether; touch, of air; smell, of earth, &c. —Wilson's *Sankhya Carika*, p. 17.

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ternal, and is mind, which is equally an organ of sense and of action.

20. to 24. The five elements are derived from the five particles above mentioned (4 to 8). They are, space, air, fire, water, and earth.

25. The last principle is soul, which is neither produced nor productive. It is multitudinous, individual, sensitive, unalterable, immaterial.

Constitution of animated corporeal beings.

It is for the contemplation of nature, and for abstraction from it, that the union between the soul and nature takes place. By that union, creation, consisting in the development of intellect, and the rest of the principles, is effected. The soul's wish is fruition, or liberation. For either purpose it is invested with a subtile person, composed of intellect, consciousness, mind, the organs of sense and action, and the five principles of the elements. This person is unconfined, free from all hindrance, affected by sentiments; but incapable of enjoyment, until invested with a grosser frame, composed of the elements; which is the body, and is perishable.

The subtile person is more durable, and accompanies the soul in its transmigrations.*

The corporeal creation, consisting of souls invested with gross bodies, comprises fourteen orders of beings; eight above, and five inferior to man.

The superior orders are composed of the gods and other spirits recognised by the Hindús; the inferior, of animals, plants, and inorganic substances.†

* Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 32.

† Ibid. p. 33.

Intellectual creation.

Besides the grosser corporeal creation, and the subtile or personal, (all belonging to the material world,) the Sánkya distinguishes an intellectual creation, consisting of the affections of the intellect, its sentiments and faculties.

These are enumerated in four classes, as obstructing, disabling, contenting, or perfecting the understanding.*

The Sánkya, like all the Indian schools, pays much attention to three essential qualities or modifications of nature. These are, 1. Goodness. 2. Passion. 3. Darkness. They appear to affect all beings, animate and inanimate. Through *goodness*, for instance, fire ascends, and virtue and happiness are produced in man; it is *passion* which causes tempests in the air, and vice among mankind; *darkness* gives their downward tend-

* The catalogue is very extensive; for, though the principal heads are stated at fifty, there appear to be numerous subdivisions.

The following may serve as a specimen, selected from that given by Mr. Colebrooke, which is itself very much condensed.

1. Obstructions of the intellect are — error, conceit, passion, hatred, fear. These are severally explained, and comprise sixty-two subdivisions.

2. Disabilities are of twenty-eight sorts, arising from defect or injury of organs, &c.

3. Content, or acquiescence, involves nine divisions; all appear to relate to total or partial omission of exertion, to procure deliverance or beatitude.

4. Perfecting the intellect is of eight sorts; three consist in ways of preventing evil, and the remaining five are reasoning, oral instruction, study, amicable intercourse, and purity, internal and external.

ency to earth and water, and in màn produces stolidity, as well as sorrow.

Eight modes appertaining to intellect are derived from these qualities; on the one hand, virtue, knowledge, dispassion, and power; and on the other, sin, error, incontinency, and powerlessness. Each of these is subdivided: power, for instance, is eightfold.

The opinions which have above been enumerated, as mere dogmas of the Sánkya philosophers, are demonstrated and explained at great length in their works. Mr. Colebrooke gives some specimens of their arguments and discussions; the fault of which, as is usual in such cases, seems to be a disposition to run into over refinement.*

General view of the Sánkya doctrine.

In endeavouring to find out the scope of the Sánkya system, which is somewhat obscured by the artificial form in which it is presented by its inventors, we are led at first to think that this school, though atheistical, and, in the main, material, does not differ very widely from that which derives all things from spirit. From nature comes intelligence; from intelligence, consciousness; from consciousness, the senses and the subtile principles of the elements; from these principles, the grosser elements themselves. From the order of this procession it would appear that, although matter be eternal, its forms are derived from spirit, and have no existence independent of perception.

* Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. pp. 33—37.

But this is not the real doctrine of the school. It is a property inherent in nature to put forth those principles in their order; and a property in soul to use them as the means of obtaining a knowledge of nature; but these operations, though coinciding in their object, are independent in their origin. Nature and the whole multitude of individual souls are eternal; and though each soul is united with intellect and the other productions of nature, it exercises no control over their development. Its union, indeed, is not with the general intellect, which is the first production of nature, but with an individual intellect derived from that primary production.

At birth, each soul is invested with a subtile body *, which again is clad in a grosser body. The connection between soul and matter being thus established, the organs communicate the sensations occasioned by external nature: mind combines them: consciousness gives them a reference to the individual: intellect draws inferences, and attains to knowledge not within the reach of the senses †: soul stands by as a spectator, and not an actor; perceiving all, but affected by nothing; as a mirror which receives all images, without itself undergoing any change. ‡ When the soul has completely seen and understood nature, its task is performed: it is released, and the connection between nature

* Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 40.

† Ibid. pp. 31. 38.

‡ Ibid. p. 42.

and that individual soul is dissolved. Nature (to use an illustration from the text-book) exhibits herself like an actress: she desists when she has been perfectly seen; and the soul attains to the great object of liberation.

Thus it appears that the soul takes no part in the operations of nature, and is necessary to none of them: sensation, consciousness, reasoning, judgment, would all go on equally if it were away. Again: it is for the purpose of the liberation of the soul that all these operations are performed; yet the soul was free at first, and remains unchanged at the end. The whole phenomena of mind and matter have therefore been without a purpose. In each view, the soul is entirely superfluous; and we are tempted to surmise that its existence and liberation have been admitted, in terms, by Capila, as the gods were by Epicurus, to avoid shocking the prejudices of his countrymen by a direct denial of their religion.

**Separate doctrines of the atheistical and theistical branches.**

The tenets hitherto explained are common to both schools; but Capila, admitting, as has been seen, the separate existence of souls, and allowing that intellect is employed in the evolution of matter, which answers to creation, denies that there is any Supreme Being, ether material or spiritual, by whose *volition* the universe was produced.*

Patanjali, on the other hand, asserts that, distinct from other souls, there is a soul or spirit unaffected by the ills with which the others are beset; un-

* Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 37.

concerned with good or bad deeds or their consequences, and with fancies or passing thoughts; omniscient, infinite, unlimited by time. This being is God, the Supreme Ruler.*

The practice of the two sects takes its colour from these peculiar opinions. The object of all knowledge with both is liberation from matter; and it is by *contemplation* that the great work is to be accomplished.

To this the theistical sects add *devotion;* and the subjects of their meditation are suggested by this sentiment. While the followers of the other sect are occupied in abstruse reasonings on the nature of mind and matter, the deistical Sánkya spends his time in devotional exercises, or gives himself up to mental abstraction. The mystical and fanatical spirit thus engendered appears in other shapes, and has influenced this branch of the Sánkya in a manner which has ultimately tended to degrade its character.

The work of Patanjali, which is the text-book of the theistical sect, contains full directions for bodily and mental exercises, consisting of intensely profound meditation on certain topics, accompanied by suppression of the breath, and restraint of the senses, while steadily maintaining prescribed positions. By such exercises, the adept acquires the knowledge of everything past and future, hidden or remote: he divines the thoughts of others, gains the strength of an elephant, the courage of

* Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 37.

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a lion, and the swiftness of the wind; flies in air, floats in water; dives into the earth; contemplates all worlds at a glance, and indulges in the enjoyment of a power that scarcely knows any bounds.

To the attainment of these miraculous faculties, some ascetics divert the efforts which ought to be confined to the acquisition of beatitude; and others have had recourse to imposture for the power to surprise their admirers with wonders which they possessed no other means of exhibiting.

Yógis.

The first description of these aspirants to supernatural powers are still found among the monastic orders, and the second among the lowest classes of the same body; both are called Yógi, — a name assigned to the original sect, from a word meaning "abstracted meditation." *

### *Védánta, or Uttara Mimansá School.*

The foundation of this school is ascribed to Vyása, the supposed compiler of the Védas, who lived about 1400 B. C.; and it does not seem improbable that the author of that compilation, whoever he

* The above account of the Sánkya school is chiefly taken from Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. pp. 19—43. A translation of the text-book of the followers of Capila (the atheistic sect), originally prepared by Mr. Colebrooke, has appeared since it was first written, accompanied by a translation of a gloss from the Shanscrit, and a very valuable commentary by Professor Wilson. A more general view of the Sánkya doctrines has also appeared in the *Oxford Lectures* of the last author, pp. 49. 54. I have endeavoured to profit by those publications in correcting my first account.

was, should have written a treatise on the scope and essential doctrines of the compositions which he had brought together: but Mr. Colebrooke is of opinion that, in its present form, the school is more modern than any of the other five, and even than the Jáins and Báudhas; and that the work in which its system is first explained could not, therefore, have been written earlier * than the sixth century before Christ.

Though the system of this school is supported by arguments drawn from reason, it professes to be founded on the authority of the Védas, and appeals for proofs to texts from those Scriptures. It has given rise to an enormous mass of treatises, with commentaries, and commentaries on commentaries, almost all written during the last nine centuries. From a selection of these expositions, Mr. Colebrooke has formed his account of the school; but, owing to the controversial matter introduced, as well as to the appeals to texts instead of to human reason, it is more confused and obscure than the systems of the other schools.

God the sole existence.

Its principal doctrines are, that "God is the omniscient and omnipotent cause of the existence, continuance, and dissolution of the universe. Creation is an act of his *will;* he is both the efficient and the material cause of the world." At the

* Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society,* vol. ii. pp. 3, 4.

consummation of all things, all are resolved into him. He is the "sole existent" and the "universal soul." *

Individual souls are portions of his substance: from him they issue like sparks from a flame, and to him they return.

The soul (as a portion of the Divinity) is "infinite, immortal, intelligent, sentient, true."

It is capable of activity, though its natural state is repose.

It is made to act by the Supreme Being, but in conformity to its previous resolutions; and those again have been produced by a chain of causes extending backwards, apparently to infinity. †

The soul is incased in body as in a sheath, or rather a succession of sheaths. In the first, the intellect is associated with the five senses; in the second, the mind is added; in the third, the organs of sense and the vital faculties. These three constitute the subtile body, which accompanies the soul through all its transmigrations.

The fourth sheath is the gross body. ‡

The states of the soul in reference to the body are these: — When awake, it is active, and has to do with a real and practical creation: in dreams, there is an illusive and unreal creation: in profound sleep, it is enfolded, *but not blended*, in the divine essence: on death, it has quitted the cor-

* Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. p. 34.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 22.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 35.

poreal frame.* It then goes to the moon, is clothed in an aqueous body, falls in rain, is absorbed by some vegetable, and thence through nourishment into an animal embryo.†

After finishing its transmigrations, the number of which depends on its deeds, it receives liberation.

Liberation is of three sorts: one incorporeal and complete, when the soul is absorbed in Brahmá; another imperfect, when it only reaches the abode of Brahmá; and a third far short of the others, by which, while yet in life, it acquires many of the powers of the Divinity, and its faculties are transcendant for enjoyment, but not for action. These two last are attainable by sacrifice and devout meditation in prescribed modes.

The discussions of this school extend to the questions of free will, divine grace, efficacy of works, of faith, and many others of the most abstracted nature.

Faith is not mentioned in their early works, and is a tenet of the branch of the Védánta school which follows the Bhágwat Gíta. The most regular of the school, however, maintain the doctrine of divine grace, and restrict free will, as has been shown, by an infinite succession of influencing motives, extending back through the various worlds in the past eternity of the universe.

It is obvious that this school differs entirely from that first mentioned, in denying the eternity of

* Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. p. 37.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 25.

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matter, and ascribing the existence of the universe to the energy and volition of God. But its original teachers, or their European interpreters, appear to disagree as to the manner in which that existence is produced. One party maintains that God created matter out of his own essence, and will resume it into his essence at the consummation of all things; and that from matter thus produced, he formed the world, and left it to make its own impressions on the soul of man. The other party says that God did not create matter, nor does matter exist; but that he did, and continually does, produce directly on the soul a series of impressions such as the other party supposes to be produced by the material world. One party says that all that exists arises from God; the other, that nothing does exist except God. This last appears to be the prevailing doctrine among the modern Védántis, though probably not of the founders and early followers of the school.

Both parties agree in supposing the impression produced on the mind to be regular and systematic, so that the ideal sect reasons about cause and effect exactly in the same manner as those who believe in the reality of the apparent world.

Both allow volition to God, and do not conceive that there is anything in the nature of matter, or in his own relations, to fetter his will.

Both agree in asserting that the soul was originally part of God, and is again to return to him; but neither explains how the separation is effected: the

idealists, in particular, fail entirely in explaining how God can delude a part of himself into a belief of its own separate existence, and of its being acted on by an external world, when, in fact, it is an integral part of the only existing being.*

## *Logical Schools.*

Logic is a favourite study of the Bramins, and an infinity of volumes have been produced by them on this subject. Some of them have been by eminent authors, and various schools have sprung up in consequence; all, however, are supposed to originate in those of Gótama and Canáde. The first of these has attended to the metaphysics of logic; the second to physics, or to sensible objects. Though these schools differ in some particulars, they generally agree on the points treated on by both, and may be considered as parts of one system, each supplying the other's deficiencies.

**Points of resemblance to Aristotle.**

The school thus formed has been compared to that of Aristotle.† It resembles it in its attention to classification, method, and arrangement, and it furnishes a rude form of the syllogism, consisting

* On the question regarding the ideal or material existence of the world, besides Mr. Colebrooke's paper in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39., see that of Colonel Kennedy, in vol. iii. p. 414., with the remarks of Sir Graves Haughton.

† Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 19.; *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1834, p. 363.

of five propositions, two of which are obviously superfluous.*

In the logic of Canáde's school there is also an enumeration of what is translated "predicaments," which are six: — substance, quality, action, community, particularity, and aggregation or intimate relation: some add a seventh, privation. The three first are among the predicaments of Aristotle, the others are not, and seven of Aristotle's are omitted.†

The subjects treated of in the two Hindú systems are naturally often the same as those of Aristotle, — the senses, the elements, the soul and its different faculties, time, space, &c.; but many that are of the first importance in Aristotle's system are omitted by the Hindus, and *vice versà*. The definitions of the subjects often differ, and the general arrangement is entirely dissimilar.

One of the most remarkable coincidences is, that all the Hindú schools constantly join to the five senses a sixth internal sense (which they call mind) which connects the other five, and answers

* As, 1. The hill is fiery;
2. For it smokes.
3. What smokes is fiery, as a culinary hearth;
4. Accordingly, the hill is smoking;
5. Therefore, it is fiery.

The Hindús had also the regular syllogism, which seems a very natural step from the above; but as it was at a later period, the improvement *might* have been borrowed from the Greeks.

† Viz. passion, relation, quantity, when, where, situation, and habit.

exactly to the common, or internal, sense of Aristotle.

General classification according to Gótama's school.

The arrangement of Gótama's school is much more complete and comprehensive than that of Canáde, and some specimens of it may serve to give an idea of the minuteness to which their classification is attempted to be carried.

Heads or topics.

The first distribution of subjects is into sixteen heads or topics. I can discover no principle on which it is made, except that it comprises the instruments, modes, and some of the subjects, of disputation. It is as follows:—

1. Proof. 2. That which is to be known and proven. 3. Doubt. 4. Motive. 5. Instance. 6. Demonstrated truth. 7. Member of a regular argument or syllogism; 8. Reasoning by reduction to absurdity. 9. Determination or ascertainment. 10. Thesis or disquisition. 11. Controversy. 12. Objection. 13. Fallacious reason. 14. Perversion. 15. Futility. 16. Confutation.

The subdivisions are more natural and systematic.

1st Head —Proof.

Proof (or evidence) is of four kinds: perception, inference, comparison, and affirmation (or testimony).

Inference is again subdivided into antecedent, which discovers an effect from its cause; consequent, which deduces a cause from its effect; and analogous.

BOOK II.

2d Head— Objects of Proof; its subdivisions.

Objects of proof are twelve in number:— 1. Soul. 2. Body. 3. The organs of sensation. 4. The objects of sense. 5. Intellect. 6. Mind. 7. Activity. 8. Fault. 9. Transmigration. 10. Fruit of deeds. 11. Pain, or physical evil. 12. Liberation.

1. Soul.

1. The first object of proof is soul; and a full exposition is given of its nature and faculties, and of the proofs of its existence. It has fourteen qualities:—number, quantity, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, intellect, pain, pleasure, desire, aversion, volition, merit, demerit, and the faculty of imagination.

2. Body.

2. The second object of proof is body; which is still more fully discussed and analysed; not without some mixture of what belongs more properly to physical science.

3. Organs of sense.

3. Next follow the organs of sense, which are said not to spring from consciousness, as is advanced by the Sánkya school; but which are conjoined with the sixth internal sense, as in that school; while the five organs of action (which make up the eleven brought together by the Sankyas) are not separately recognised here.

4. Objects of sense.

4. The next of the subdivisions of the second head consists of the objects of sense, among which are the terms which form the predicaments of Canáde.

The first of these is substance, and is divided into nine sorts:—earth, water, light, air, ether, time, place, soul, mind. The qualities of each of

these substances are fully examined; after which the author passes on to the second predicament, quality. There are twenty-four qualities. Sixteen are qualities of body; namely, — colour, savour, odour, feel, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity, fluidity, viscidity, and sound: and eight of soul; namely, — pain, desire, aversion, volition, virtue, vice, and faculty. Every one of these is examined at great length; and, sometimes, as well as by the Grecian schools.*

The remaining five predicaments are then defined, which completes the objects of sense. Each of the six remaining objects of proof are then examined in the same manner, which exhausts the second head or topic.

3d Head— Doubt.

The third head or topic, doubt, is then taken in hand, and so on to the end of the sixteenth; but enough has already been said to show the method of proceeding, and much detail would be required to afford any information beyond that.

Metaphysical opinions.

The discussion of the above topics involves many opinions, both on physical and metaphysical subjects; thus the immateriality, independent existence, and eternity of the soul are asserted: God is considered as the supreme soul, the seat of eternal knowledge, the maker of all things, &c.

* Levity, for instance, is merely noticed as the absence of gravity; while in Aristotle it is held to be a separate principle, having a tendency to rise as gravity has to descend. Sound is said to be propagated by undulation, wave after wave, proceeding from a centre..

BOOK II.

Doctrine of atoms.

The school of Canáde, or, as it is also called, the atomic school, supposes a transient world composed of aggregations of eternal atoms. It does not seem settled whether their temporary arrangement depends on their natural affinities, or on the creative power of God. *

Resemblance to some of the Greek schools, especially to Pythagoras.

It is impossible not to be struck with the identity of the topics discussed by the Hindú philosophers with those which engaged the attention of the same class in ancient Greece, and with the similarity between the doctrines of schools subsisting in regions of the earth so remote from each other. The first cause, the relation of mind to matter, creation, fate, and many similar subjects, are mixed by the Hindús with questions that have arisen in modern metaphysics, without having been known to the ancients. Their various doctrines of the eternity of matter, or its emanation from the Divinity; of the separate existence of the Supreme Being, or his arising from the arrangements of nature; the supposed derivation of all souls from God, and return to him; the doctrine of atoms; the successive revolutions of worlds; have all likewise been maintained by one or other of the Grecian schools. † These doctrines may, however, have occurred independently to speculative men in

* Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 105. For a full account of the logical school, see *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 92., and *Gladwin's Ayeen Acbery*, vol. ii. p. 385.; also, *Ward on the Hindoos*, vol. ii. p. 224.

† See *Ward on the Hindoos*, vol. ii. p. 114.

unconnected countries, and each single coincidence may perhaps have been accidental; but when we find a whole system so similar to that of the Hindús as the Pythagorean, — while the doctrines of both are so unlike the natural suggestions of human reason, — it requires no faith in the traditions of the eastern journeys of Pythagoras to be persuaded that the two schools have originated in a common source.

The end of all philosophy, according to Pythagoras, is to free the mind from incumbrances which hinder its progress towards perfection*; to raise it above the dominion of the passions, and the influence of corporeal impressions, so as to assimilate it to the Divinity, and qualify it to join the gods.† The soul is a portion of the Divinity‡, and returns, after various transmigrations and successive intermediate states of purgation in the region of the dead, to the eternal source from which it first proceeded. The mind (θυμος) is distinct from the soul (φρην).§ God is the universal soul diffused through all things, the first principle of the universe; invisible, incorruptible, only to be comprehended by the mind.‖ Intermediate between God and mankind are a host of aerial beings, formed into classes, and exercising different influences on the affairs of the world.¶

These are precisely the metaphysical doctrines

* Enfield's History of Philosophy, vol. i. p. 382.
† Ibid. p. 389.
‡ Ibid. p. 393.
§ Ibid. p. 397.
‖ Ibid. p. 393.
¶ Ibid. p. 395. See also *Stanley's History of Philosophy.*

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of India; and when to them we join the aversion of Pythagoras for animal food, and his prohibition of it unless when offered in sacrifices*, his injunctions to his disciples not to kill or hurt plants†, the long probation of his disciples, and their mysterious initiation, it is difficult to conceive that so remarkable an agreement can be produced by any thing short of direct imitation.

Further coincidences might be mentioned, equally striking, though less important than those already adduced: such are the affinity between God and light, the arbitrary importance assigned to the sphere of the moon as the limit of earthly changes, &c.: and all derive additional importance from their dissimilarity to the opinions of all the Grecian schools that subsisted in the time of Pythagoras.‡

Some of the tenets of both schools are said to have existed among the ancient Egyptians, and may be supposed to have been derived from that source both by Pythagoras and the Bramins. But

* Enfield, vol. i. p. 377., and *Stanley's School of Philosophy*, p. 520.

† Stanley, p. 520.

‡ See, for the Hindú notions on light, the various interpretations of, and comments on, the Gayatri, especially *Sir W. Jones's Works*, vol. vi. pp. 417. 421.; Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 400. and note; Rám Mohun Roy's translation of the Védas, p. 114.; Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 26., and other places. For Pythagoras, see Enfield, vol. i. p. 394., and Stanley, p. 547.; in both of which places he is said to have learned his doctrine from the magi or oriental philosophers. The opinions of both the Hindús and Pythagoras about the moon and aerial regions, are stated by Mr. Colebrooke, in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 578.; for those of Pythagoras, see Stanley, p. 551.

our accounts of these doctrines in Egypt are only found in books written long after they had reached Greece through other channels. The only *early* authority is Herodotus, who lived after the philosophy of Pythagoras had been universally diffused. If, however, these doctrines existed among the Egyptians, they were scattered opinions in the midst of an independent system; and in Greece they are obviously adscititious, and not received in their integrity by any other of the philosophers except by the Pythagoreans. In India, on the contrary, they are the main principles on which the religion of the people is founded, to which all the schools of philosophy refer, and on which every theory in physics and every maxim in morality depends.

It is well argued by Mr. Colebrooke, that the Indian philosophy resembles that of the earlier rather than of the later Greeks; and that, if the Hindús had been capable of learning the first doctrines from a foreign nation, there was no reason why they should not in like manner have acquired a knowledge of the subsequent improvements. From which he infers that "the Hindús were, in this instance, the teachers, and not the learners." *

* Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 579. It may, perhaps, be observed, that the doctrines of Pythagoras appear to belong to a period later than Menu. The formation of a society living in common, and receiving common initiation, together with the practice of burying the dead instead of burning them, seem to refer to the rules of the monastic orders; while the strictness regarding animal food has also a resemblance to the tendency of later times.

# BOOK III.

## STATE OF THE HINDÚS IN LATER TIMES, CONTINUED.

BOOK III.

Few of the subjects which follow are noticed by Menu: we can, therefore, no longer attempt to mark the changes effected since his time, but must endeavour from other sources to trace the rise and describe the present state of each branch of inquiry as it occurs.

## CHAP. I.

### ASTRONOMY AND MATHEMATICAL SCIENCE.

CHAP. I.

**Antiquity of the Hindú astronomy.**

THE antiquity and the originality of the Indian astronomy form subjects of considerable interest.*

The first point has been discussed by some of the greatest astronomers in Europe; and is still unsettled.

Cassini, Bailly, and Playfair maintain that observations taken upwards of 3000 years before Christ are still extant, and prove a considerable degree of progress already made at that period.

Several men, eminent for science, (among whom are La Place and De Lambre,) deny the authenticity of the observations, and, consequently, the validity of the conclusion.

The argument is conducted entirely on astronomical principles, and can only be decided by astronomers: as far as it can be understood by a person unacquainted with science, it does not appear to authorise an award, to the extent that is claimed, in favour of the Hindús.

All astronomers, however, admit the great an-

* Much information on these subjects, but generally with views unfavourable to the Hindús, is given in the illustrations, by different hands, annexed to Mr. Hugh Murray's *Historical and Descriptive Account of British India,* — a work of great ability and value.

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tiquity of the Hindú observations; and it seems indisputable that the exactness of the mean motions that they have assigned to the sun and moon could only have been attained by a comparison of modern observations with others made in remote antiquity. * Even Mr. Bentley, the most strenuous opponent of the claims of the Hindús, pronounces, in his latest work, that their division of the ecliptic into twenty-seven lunar mansions (which supposes much previous observation) was made 1442 years before our æra; and, without relying upon his authority in this instance, we should be inclined to believe that the Indian observations could not have commenced at a later period than the fifteenth century before Christ. This would be from one to two centuries before the Argonautic expedition and the first mention of astronomy in Greece.

The astronomical rule relating to the calendar, which has been quoted from the Védas †, is shown to have been drawn up in the fourteenth century before Christ; and Parasara, the first writer on astronomy of whose writings any portion remains, appears to have flourished about the same time. ‡

* See *Pond's La Place System of the World*, vol. ii. p. 252.

† In Appendix I. See also *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 489.; vol. vii. p. 282.

‡ This appears by his observation of the place of the Colures, first mentioned by Mr. Davis. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 268.) Sir W. Jones, in consequence of some further information received from Mr. Davis, fixed Parasara in the twelfth century before Christ (1181, B. C.); but Mr. Davis himself afterwards explained (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 288.) that, from the

Its extent.

In our inquiries into the astronomy of the Indians, we derive no aid from their own early authors. The same system of priestcraft, which has exercised so pernicious an influence on the Hindús in other respects, has cast a veil over their science. Astronomy having been made subservient to the extravagant chronology of the religionists, all the epochs which it ought to determine have been thrown into confusion and uncertainty; no general view of their system has been given; only such parts of science as are required for practical purposes are made known; and even of them the original sources are carefully concealed, and the results communicated as revelations from the Divinity. *

most minute consideration he could give the subject, the observation must have been made 1391 years before the Christian æra. Another passage quoted from Parasara shows that the heliacal rising of Canopus took place in his time at a period which agrees with the date assigned to him, on other grounds. (Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 356. See also *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 288., for the opinion of Mr. Davis.) Mr. Bentley, however, at one time suspected the whole of the works of Parasara to be modern forgeries (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 581.); and when he admitted them afterwards (in his posthumous work), he put a different interpretation on the account of the rising of Canopus, and placed him, on that and other grounds, in the year 576 before Christ. (Abstract of Bentley's History, *Oriental Magazine*, vol. v. p. 245.) The attempt made by Sir W. Jones to fix other dates, by means of the mythological histories into which the name of Parasara is introduced, does not appear successful. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 399.)

* Thus the "Surya Sidhanta," the learned work of an astro-

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From this cause, the data from which their tables were computed are never quoted; and there is no record of a regular series of observations among them.

If this system be an obstruction to our inquiries, it must have been much more so to the progress of science. The art of making observations was probably taught to few; still fewer would be disposed to employ an instrument which could not confirm, but might impair, the faith due to divine truths. They had none of the skill which would have been taught, nor of the emulation which would have

nomer of the fifth or sixth century, is only known to the Hindús as a revelation from heaven, received upwards of 2,164,900 years ago. Their enigmatical manner of communicating their knowledge is as remarkable in the other sciences as in astronomy. Professor Playfair speaks thus of their trigonometry:— "It has the appearance, like many other things in the science of those eastern nations, of being drawn up by one who was more deeply versed in the subject than may be at first imagined, and who knew more than he thought it necessary to communicate. It is probably a compendium formed by some ancient adept in geometry, for the use of others who were mere practical calculators." Of their arithmetic the "Edinburgh Review" says (vol. xxix. p. 147.), "All this is done in verse. The question is usually propounded with enigmatical conciseness; the rule for the computation is given in terms somewhat less obscure; but it is not till the example, which comes in the third place, has been studied, that all ambiguity is removed. No demonstration nor reasoning, either analytical or synthetical, is subjoined; but, on examination, the rules are found not only to be exact, but to be nearly as simple as they can be made, even in the present state of analytical investigation." The same observation is applied to their algebra, Ibid. p. 151.

been excited, by the labours of their predecessors; and when the increasing errors of the revealed tables forced them at length on observations and corrections, so far from expecting applause for their improvements, they were obliged, by the state of public opinion, to endeavour to make it appear that no alteration had been made.*

In spite of these disadvantages, they appear to have made considerable advances in astronomy. As they have left no complete system which can be presented in a popular form, and compared with those of other nations, they must be judged of by mathematicians from the skill they have shown in treating the points on which they have touched. The opinions formed on this subject appear to be divided; but it seems to be generally admitted that great marks of imperfection are combined, in their astronomical writings, with proofs of very extraordinary proficiency.

* The commentator on the "Surya Sidhanta" (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 239.) shows strongly the embarrassment that was felt by those who tried to correct errors sanctioned by religious authority. In the same essay (p. 257.) it appears that, although the rational system had been established from time immemorial, it was still thought almost impious to oppose it to the mythological one. A single writer, indeed, avows that the earth is self-balanced in infinite space, and cannot be supported by a succession of animals; but the others display no such controversial spirit, and seem only anxious to show that their own rational opinions were consistent with the previously established fables. In the "Edinburgh Review" (vol. x. p. 459.) there is a forcible illustration of the effect of the system of religious fraud in retarding the progress of science.

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The progress made in other branches of mathematical knowledge was still more remarkable than in astronomy. In the "Surya Sidhanta," written, according to Mr. Bentley, in A.D. 1091, at the latest, but generally assigned to the fifth or sixth century *, is contained a system of trigonometry, which not only goes far beyond any thing known to the Greeks, but involves theorems which were not discovered in Europe till the sixteenth century.†

Geometry.

Their geometrical skill is shown, among other forms, by their demonstrations of various properties of triangles, especially one which expresses the area in the terms of the three sides, and was unknown in Europe till published by Clavius (in the

* See Mr. Colebrooke (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 329. note) for the position of the vernal equinox when the "Surya Sidhanta" was written, and Sir W. Jones (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 392.) for the period when the vernal equinox was so situated. Mr. Colebrooke thinks it contemporary with Brahma Gupta, whom he afterwards fixes about the end of the sixth century.

† Such is that of Vieta, pointed out by Professor Playfair, in his question sent to the Asiatic Society. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. iv. p. 152.) Professor Playfair has published a memoir on the Hindú trigonometry (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, vol. iv.), which is referred to by Professor Wallace, with the following important observation of his own: — "However ancient, therefore, any book may be in which we meet with a system of trigonometry, we may be assured it was not written in the infancy of science. We may therefore conclude that geometry must have been known in India long before the writing of the 'Surya Sidhanta.'" There is also a rule for the computation of the sines, involving a refinement first practised by Briggs, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. (*British India*, vol. iii. p. 403., in the "Edinburgh Cabinet Library.")

sixteenth century)*; and by their knowledge of the proportion of the radius to the circumference of a circle, which they express in a mode peculiar to themselves, by applying one measure and one unit to the radius and circumference. This proportion, which is confirmed by the most approved labours of Europeans, was not known out of India until modern times.†

Arithmetic.

The Hindús are distinguished in arithmetic by the acknowledged invention of the decimal notation; and it seems to be the possession of this discovery which has given them so great an advantage over the Greeks in the science of numbers.‡

Algebra.

But it is in algebra that the Bramins appear to have most excelled their contemporaries. Our accounts of their discoveries in that science are obtained from the works of Brahma Gupta (who lived in the sixth century), and Bhascara Acharya (in the twelfth century)§, but both drew their ma-

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xxix. p. 158.

† The ratio of the diameter to the circumference is given in the "Surya Sidhanta," probably written in the fifth century (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 259.), and even by Mr. Bentley's account, in the eleventh. The demonstrations alluded to in the preceding lines are generally by Brahma Gupta in the sixth century.

‡ A writer in the "Edinburgh Review" (vol. xviii. p. 211.), who discusses the subject in a tone of great hostility to the Hindú pretensions, makes an observation which appears entitled to much consideration. He lays down the position, that decimal notation is not a very old invention, and points out the improbability of its having escaped Pythagoras, if it had in his time been known in India.

§ Mr. Bentley, in his last work, wishes to prove, by his usual

terials from Arya Bhatta, in whose time the science seems to have been at its height; and who, though not clearly traced further back than the fifth century, may, in Mr. Colebrooke's opinion, not improbably have lived nearly as early as Diophantus, the first Greek writer on algebra; that is, about A.D. 360.

But, whichever may have been the more ancient, there is no question of the superiority of the Hindús over their rivals in the perfection to which they brought the science. Not only is Arya Bhatta superior to Diophantus, (as is shown by his knowledge of the resolution of equations involving several unknown quantities, and in a general method of resolving all indeterminate problems of at least the first degree *,) but he and his successors press hard upon the discoveries of algebraists who lived almost in our own time. Nor is Arya Bhatta the inventor of algebra among the Hindús; for there seems every reason to believe that the science was in his time in such a state, as it required the lapse of ages, and many repeated efforts of invention, to produce.† It was in his time, indeed, or

mode of computation, that Bhascara wrote in the reign of Akber (A.D. 1556); but the date in the text is mentioned in a Persian translation presented to that very emperor by the celebrated Feizi, whose inquiries into Hindú science form the most conspicuous part of the literature of that age. (See Book IX. chap.iii.) Bhascara is likewise quoted by many authors anterior to Akber, whose authenticity Mr. Bentley is therefore obliged to deny.

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xxix. p. 142.

† Ibid. p. 143.

in the fifth century, at latest, that Indian science appears to have attained its highest perfection.* Of the originality of Hindú science some opinions must have been formed from what has been already said.

Originality of Hindú science.

In their astronomy, the absence of a general theory, the unequal refinement of the different

* In the "Edinburgh Review" (vol. xxi. p. 372.) is a striking history of a problem (to find $x$ so that $a x^2+b$ shall be a square number). The first step towards a solution is made by Diophantus; it is extended by Fermat, and sent as a defiance to the English algebraists in the seventeenth century; but was only carried to its full extent by Euler; who arrives exactly at the point before attained by Bhascara in A. D. 1150. Another occurs in the same Review (vol. xxix. p. 153.), where it is stated, from Mr. Colebrooke, that a particular solution given by Bhascara (A. D. 1150) is exactly the same that was hit on by Lord Brounker, in 1657; and that the general solution of the same problem was unsuccessfully attempted by Euler, and only accomplished by De la Grange, A. D. 1767; although it had been as completely given by Brahma Gupta in the sixth century of our æra. But the superiority of the Hindús over the Greek algebraists is scarcely so conspicuous in their discoveries as in the excellence of their method, which is altogether dissimilar to that of Diophantus (*Strachey's Bija Ganita,* quoted in the "Edinburgh Review," vol. xxi. pp. 374, 375.), and in the perfection of their algorithm. (Colebrooke, *Indian Algebra,* quoted in the "Edinburgh Review," vol. xxix. p. 162.) One of their most favourite processes (that called cuttaca) was not known in Europe till published by Bachet de Mezeriac, about the year 1624, and is virtually the same as that explained by Euler. (*Edinburgh Review,* vol. xxix. p. 151.) Their application of algebra to astronomical investigations and geometrical demonstrations is also an invention of their own; and their manner of conducting it is, even now, entitled to admiration. (Colebrooke, quoted by Professor Wallace, ubi suprà, pp. 408, 409.; and *Edinburgh Review,* vol. xxix. p. 158.)

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portions of science which have been presented to us, the want of demonstrations and of recorded observations, the rudeness of the instruments used by the Bramins, and their inaccuracy in observing, together with the suspension of all progress at a certain point, are very strong arguments in favour of their having derived their knowledge from a foreign source. But on the other hand, in the first part of their progress, all other nations were in still greater ignorance than they; and in the more advanced stages, where they were more likely to have borrowed, not only is their mode of proceeding peculiar to themselves, but it is often founded on principles with which no other ancient people were acquainted; and shows a knowledge of discoveries not made, even in Europe, till within the course of the last two centuries. As far as their astronomical conclusions depend on those discoveries, it is self-evident that they cannot have been borrowed; and, even where there is no such dependence, it cannot fairly be presumed that persons who had such resources within themselves must necessarily have relied on the aid of other nations.

It seems probable that, if the Hindús borrowed at all, it was after their own astronomy had made considerable progress; and from the want of exact resemblance between the parts of their system and that of other nations, where they approach the nearest, it would rather seem as if they had taken up hints of improvement than implicitly copied the doctrines of their instructors.

That they did borrow in this manner from the Greeks of Alexandria does not appear improbable; and the reason cannot be better stated than in the words of Mr. Colebrooke, who has discussed the question with his usual learning, judgment, and impartiality. After showing that the Hindú writers of the fifth century speak with respect of the astronomy of the Yavanas, (by whom there is every reason to think that, in this instance, they mean the Greeks,) and that a treatise of one of their own authors is called "*Romaka* Sidhanta," very possibly in allusion to the system of the western (or Roman) astronomers, he goes on to say, "If these circumstances, joined to a resemblance hardly to be supposed casual, which the Hindú astronomy, with its apparatus of eccentrics and epicycles bears in many respects to that of the Greeks, be thought to authorise a belief that the Hindús received from the Greeks that knowledge which enabled them to correct and improve their own imperfect astronomy, I shall not feel inclined to dissent from the opinion. There does appear ground for more than a conjecture that the Hindús had obtained a knowledge of Grecian astronomy before the Arabs began to cultivate the science."

In another place* Mr. Colebrooke intimates his opinion that it is not improbable that the Hindús may have taken the hint of their solar zodiac from the Greeks, but adapted it to their

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 347.

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own ancient division of the ecliptic into twenty-seven parts. Their astrology, he thinks, is almost entirely borrowed from the West.*

From what has been already said, it seems very improbable that the Indian geometry and arithmetic have been borrowed from the Greeks, and there is no other nation which can contest the priority in those sciences. The peculiarity of their method gives every appearance of originality to their discoveries in algebra also.

In this last science, the claims of the Arabs have been set up against them; but Mr. Colebrooke has fully established that algebra had attained the highest perfection it ever reached in India before it was known to the Arabians, and, indeed, before the first dawn of the culture of the sciences among that people.†

Whatever the Arabs possessed in common with the Hindús, there are good grounds for thinking that they received from the latter nation; and however great their subsequent attainments and

* In addition to the points already mentioned, in which the Hindús have gone beyond the other ancient nations, Mr. Colebrooke mentions two in astronomy: one is in their notions regarding the precession of the equinoxes, in which they were more correct than Ptolemy, and as much so as the Arabs, who did not attain to their degree of improvement till a later period; the other relates to the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, which the Bramins discuss in the fifth century, and which, although formerly suggested in ancient times by Heraclitus, had been long laid aside by the Greeks, and was never revived in Europe until the days of Copernicus.

† Colebrooke's Algebra, Arithmetic, &c.

discoveries, it is to be remembered that they did not begin till the eighth century, when they first gained access to the treasures of the Greeks.

On these subjects, however, as on all connected with the learning of the Bramins, the decisions of the most learned can only be considered as opinions *on the facts at present before us*; and they must all be regarded as open to question until our increased acquaintance with Shanscrit literature shall qualify us to pronounce a final judgment.

The history of science, after all, is chiefly interesting from the means it affords of judging of the character of the nation possessed of it; and in this view we find the Bramins as remarkable as ever for diligence and acuteness, but with the same want of manliness and precision as in other departments, and the same disposition to debase every thing by a mixture of fable, and by a sacrifice of the truth to the supposed interests of the sacerdotal order.

## CHAP. II.

### GEOGRAPHY.

BOOK III.

THE Hindús have made less progress in this than in any other science.

According to their system, Mount Méru occupies the centre of the world.* It is a lofty mountain of a conical shape, the sides composed of precious stones, and the top forming a sort of terrestrial paradise. It may have been suggested by the lofty mountains to the north of India, but seems no part of that chain, or of any other that exists out of the fancy of the mythologists.

It is surrounded by seven concentric belts or circles of land, divided by seven seas.

The innermost of those circles is called Jambudwíp, which includes India, and is surrounded by a sea of salt water.†

The other six belts are separated from each other by seas of milk, wine, sugar-cane juice, &c., and appear to be entirely fabulous.

The name of Jambudwíp is sometimes confined to India, which at other times is called Bharata.

That country, and some of those nearest to it,

* Some consider Mount Meru as the North Pole: however this may be, it is, in all the geographical systems of the Hindús, the point to which every thing refers.

† Col. Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. pp. 291. 298, &c.

appear to be the only part of the earth at all known to the Hindús.

Within India, their ancient books furnish geographical divisions, with lists of the towns, mountains, and rivers in each; so that, though indistinct and destitute of arrangement, many modern divisions, cities, and natural features can be recognised.

But all beyond India is plunged in a darkness from which the boldest speculations of modern geographers have failed to rescue it.*

It is remarkable that scarcely one Shanscrit name of a place beyond the Indus coincides with those of Alexander's historians, though many on the Indian side do. It would seem, therefore, as if the Hindús had, in early times, been as averse to travelling as most of them are still; and that they would have remained for ever unconnected with the rest of the world if all mankind had been as exempt from restlessness and curiosity as themselves.

The existence of Indian nations in two places beyond the Indus furnishes no argument against

* The ill success with which this has been attempted may be judged of by an examination of Col. Wilford's Essay on the Sacred Isles in the West, especially the first part (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 267.); while the superiority of the materials for a similar inquiry *within* India is shown by the same author's Essay on Gangetic Hindostan (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiv. p. 373.), as well as by an essay in the *Oriental Magazine*, vol. ii. See also the four first chapters of the second book of the Vishnu Purána, p. 161.

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this observation. Those near the sea coast were probably driven by political convulsions from their own country, and settled on the nearest spot they could find. (See Appendix III.) Of those in the northern mountains we cannot guess the history; but although both seem, in Alexander's time, to have lost their connection with India, and to have differed in many respects from the natives of that country, yet they do not appear to have formed any sort of acquaintance with other nations, or to have been met with beyond their own limits.

At present, (besides religious mendicants who occasionally wander to Báku, the sacred fire on the Caspian, who sometimes go to Astrachan, and have been known to reach Moscow,) individuals of a Hindú tribe from Shikárpúr, a city near the Indus, settle as merchants and bankers in the towns of Persia, Turkistán, and the southern dominions of Russia; but none of these are given to general inquiry, or ever bring back any information to their countrymen.

Few even of the neighbouring nations are mentioned in their early books. They seem to have known the Greeks, and applied to them the name of Yávan, which they afterwards extended to all other conquerors from the north-west; and there is good reason to think that they knew the Scythians under the name of Sacas.* But it was within India that they became acquainted with both those

* Supposed to be the same with the Sacæ of the ancient Persians, as reported by the Greeks.

nations, and they were totally ignorant of the regions from which their visitors had come. The most distinct indication that I have observed of an acquaintance with the Romans is in a writer of the seventh or eighth century, quoted by Mr. Colebrooke *, who states that the Barbaric tongues are called Párasica, Yávana, Ráumaca, and Barbara, the three first of which would appear to mean Persian, Greek, and Latin.

The western country, called Rómaka, where it is said to be midnight when it is sunrise at Lanka, may perhaps be Rome also. It is mentioned in what is stated to be a translation from the "Sidhanta Sirimoni †," and must, in that case, have been known to the Bramins before they had much communication with the Mahometans. China they certainly knew. We possess the travels of a native of that country in India in the fourth century; and the king of Magada is attested, by Chinese authors, to have sent embassies to China in the second and subsequent centuries. There is a people called Chína mentioned in Menu, but they are placed among the tribes on the north-west of India; and,

* Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 453.

† Ward's Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 457. Rómaka is also mentioned as meaning Rome by Col. Wilford (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 367., and elsewhere); but it is to be observed that Rome and Italy are, to this day, quite unknown in the East. Even in Persia, Rúm means Asia Minor; and the "Cæsar of Rome" always meant the Byzantine Emperor, until the title was transferred to the Turkish Sultan.

moreover, the name of Chín was not adopted till long after Menu's age.

Unless we put faith in the very learned and ingenious deductions of Colonel Wilford, it will be difficult to find, in the essays on geographical subjects which have been drawn from Shanscrit sources, any signs of an acquaintance with Egypt; although the trade carried on for centuries by Greek and Roman navigators from that country might have been expected to have brought it into notice.

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## CHRONOLOGY.

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Mythological periods.

The greater periods employed in the computation of time by the Hindús need scarcely be discussed. Though founded on astronomical data, they are purely mythological, and do not deserve the attention they have attracted from European scholars.

A complete revolution of the nodes and apsides, which they suppose to be performed in 4,320,000,000 years, forms a calpa or day of Brahmá. In this are included fourteen manwantaras, or periods, during each of which the world is under the control of one Menu. Each manwantara is composed of seventy-one mahá yugas, or great ages, and each mahá yuga contains four yugas, or ages, of unequal length. These last bear some resemblance to the golden, silver, brazen, and iron ages of the Greeks.*

This last division alone has any reference to the affairs of mankind. The first, or satya yuga, extends through 1,728,000 years. The second, or treta yuga, through 1,296,000 years. The third, called dwapar yuga, through 864,000 years; and the last, or cáli yuga, through 432,000 years. Of the last or cáli yuga of the present manwantara

* Mr. Davis, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. pp. 228—231.

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4941 years have elapsed; and within that period most historical events are acknowledged to have occurred. Some, however, are placed at earlier epochs; and would be beyond the reach of chronology, if they could not be brought within more credible limits.*

Impossibility of fixing early dates.

We must, therefore, discard the yugas, along with the calpas and manwantaras, and must endeavour to draw the chronology of the Hindús from such other sources as they have themselves presented to us.

It has been shown that the Védas were probably collected about fourteen centuries before Christ; but no historical events can with any certainty be connected with that date. The astronomer Parasara may perhaps have lived in the fourteenth century before the commencement of our æra; and with him, as with his son Vyása, the compiler of the Védas, many historical or mythological persons are connected; but, in both cases, some of those who are made contemporary with the authors in question appear in periods remote from each

* In fixing the date of the Institutes of Menu, (which appear, in fact, to have been written less than 900 years before Christ,) the Hindú chronologists overflow even the limits of the four ages, and go back nearly seven manwantaras, a period exceeding 4,320,000, multiplied by six times seventy-one. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 116.) The "Surya Sidhanta" (written in the fifth century of our æra) assumes a more modern date; and, being revealed in the first, or satya yuga, only claims an antiquity of from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 years.

Ráma, who seems to be a real historical person, is fixed at the end of the second age, near 1,000,000 years ago.

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other; and the extravagant duration assigned to the lives of all holy persons, prevents the participation of any of them from contributing to settle the date of a transaction.

Solar and lunar races.

The next ground on which we might hope to establish the Hindú chronology is furnished by lists given in the Purānas of two parallel lines of kings (the races of the sun and moon), which are supposed to have reigned in Ayódha, and in the tract between the Jamna and Ganges, respectively; and from one or other of which all the royal families of ancient India were descended. These lists, according to the computation of Sir W. Jones, would carry us back to 3500 years before Christ. But the lists themselves are so contradictory as to prevent all confidence in either. The heads of the two are contemporaries, being brother and sister; yet the lunar race has but forty-eight names in the same period, in which the solar has ninety-five; and Crishna, whom the Purānas themselves make long posterior to Ráma, is fiftieth in the lunar race, while Ráma is sixty-third in the solar.*

The various attempts made to reconcile the lists

* For the most improved copies of the lists, see *Prinsep's Useful Tables*, p. 94, &c. For the previous discussions, see Sir W. Jones, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 128.; Colonel Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. table opposite p. 241., and p. 287.; Mr. Ward, vol. i. p. 14.; *Dr. Hamilton Buchanan's Hindoo Genealogies* (a separate work); consult likewise Professor Wilson's Preface to the Vishnu Purána, p. lxiv., &c., and the Purána itself, Book IV. chaps. i. and ii. p. 347.

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have only served to increase the discrepancy. The narrative by which they are accompanied in the Puránas discredits them still further by absurdities and puerilities; and, although many of the kings named may have reigned, and some of the tales related may be allusions to real history, yet no part of either, down to the time of Crishna and the war of the "Mahá Bhárat," affords the least basis on which to found a system of chronology.

From the time of the "Mahá Bhárat" we have numerous lists of kings in different parts of India, which present individually an appearance of probability, and are in several instances confirmed by extraneous testimony.

More frequently they are authenticated or illustrated by religious inscriptions and grants of land. These last, in particular, are sculptured on stone or engraved on copper plates; the latter very common and generally in good preservation. They not only record the date with great care and minuteness, but almost always contain the names of some of the predecessors of the prince who confers the grant. If sufficient numbers should be found, they may fix the dates of whole series of kings; but, at present, they are unconnected fragments, which are of use in local histories, but give little help to general chronology.

Kings of Magada.

The line of Magada alone, besides receiving striking confirmations from various quarters, presents a connected chain of kings from the war of the "Mahá Bhárat," to the fifth century after

Christ, and thus admits of an approximation to the principal epochs within that period.

Sahadéva was king of Magada at the end of the war of the "Mahá Bhárat."

The thirty-fifth king in succession from him was Ajata Satru, in whose reign Sakya or Gótama, the founder of the Budha religion, flourished. There can be little doubt that Sakya died about 550 before Christ.* We have, therefore, the testimonies of the Burmese, Ceylonese, Siamese, and some other Báudha chronicles, written out of India, by which to settle the æra of Ajata Satru.

The sixth in succession from Ajata Satru, inclusive, was Nanda, on whose date many others depend. The ninth from Nanda was Chandra Gupta; and the third from him was Asóca, a prince celebrated among the Báudhas of all countries, as one of the most zealous disciples and promoters of their religion.

It is by means of the two last princes that we gain a link to connect the chronology of India with that of Europe; and are enabled (though still very loosely) to mark the limits of the period embraced by Hindú history.

From some motive, probably connected with the desire to magnify Crishna, the Hindú authors have made the end of the war of the "Mahá Bhárat" and the death of that hero contemporary with the commencement of the cáli yúg, or evil age; and

* See p. 210, 211.

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this assertion, though openly denied by one of their own authors*, and indirectly contradicted by facts stated in others, is still regarded as incontrovertible.

Chandragupta contemporary with Seleucus;

In applying the list of kings drawn from the Puránas to the verification of this epoch, Sir W. Jones was struck with the resemblance between the name of Chandragupta and that of Sandracottus, or Sandracoptus, who is mentioned by European writers as having concluded a treaty with Seleucus. On a close examination, he was surprised to find a great resemblance in their histories; and assuming the date of Chandragupta to be the same as that of Seleucus, he was enabled to reduce those of preceding events to a form more consistent with our notions.† The arguments by which this supposition may be supported are fully and fairly stated by Professor Wilson.‡ They are—the resemblance between the names just mentioned, and between that of Xandramas, by which Diodorus calls Sandracottus, and that of Chandramas, by which he is sometimes designated in Indian authors; his low birth, and his usurpation, which are common to the Greek and Hindú stories; the situation of his kingdom, as described by Megasthenes, who was ambassador at his court; the name of his people, Prasii with the Greeks, corresponding to Práchi, the term applied by Hindú geographers to the

* A historian of Cashmír. See note on the age of Yudashtir *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. xxvii.

‡ Hindú Theatre, vol. iii. p. 3.

tract in which Magada is situated; and of his capital, which the Greeks call Palibothra, while the Hindús call that of Chandragupta Pataliputra. Subsequent discoveries, from Braminical sources, fixed the date of Chandragupta with somewhat more precision: Wilford placed him in 350 B. C., and Wilson in 315; and they received an unexpected confirmation from the chronological tables of the Báudhas, procured from the distant countries of Ava and Ceylon. The first of these (from Crawford's "Ava" *,) places his reign between the years 392 and 376 B. C.; and the other (in Turnour's "Maháwanso"†,) between the years 381 and 347 B. C.; while the Greek accounts lead us to fix it between the accession of Seleucus in 312, and his death in 280 B. C.‡ The difference between the Báudha and Greek dates, amounting to thirty or forty years§, is ascribed by Mr. Turnour to a wilful fraud on the part of the priests of Budha, who, though entirely free from the extravagances of Bramin chronology, have been tempted on this occasion to accommodate their historical dates to one which had been assumed in their religious traditions. The effect of this inconsistency would

* See *Prinsep's Useful Tables*, p. 132.

† Introduction, p. xlvii.

‡ Clinton's Fasti.

§ As the expedition of Seleucus was undertaken immediately after his reduction of Babylon (312 B. C.), we may suppose it to have taken place in 310 B. C.; and as Chandragupta (according to the "Maháwanso") died in 347 B.C., there will be a discrepancy to the extent of thirty-seven years, even if the last act of Chandragupta's life was to sign the treaty.

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and Asóca with Antiochus.

not be sufficient to prevent our retaining a strong conviction of the identity of Chandragupta and Sandracottus, even if no further proof had been obtained. All doubt, however, has been removed, by a discovery which promises to throw light on other obscure parts of Indian history. Many caves, rocks, and pillars, in different parts of India, are covered with inscriptions in a character which neither European nor native had been able to decipher, and which tantalised the spectators like the hieroglyphics of Egypt; until Mr. Prinsep, who had long made them his study, without being able to find a key to them, happened to notice the brevity and insulated position of all the inscriptions sent from a particular temple; and, seizing on this circumstance, which he combined with a modern practice of the Baudhas, he inferred that each probably recorded the gift of some votary. At the same time when he made this ingenious conjecture, he was struck with the fact that all the inscriptions ended in the same two letters; and, following up his theory, he assumed that those letters were D and N, the two radical letters in the Shanscrit name for a donation. The frequent recurrence of another letter suggested its representing S, the sign of the genitive in Shanscrit; and, having now got hold of the clue, he soon completed his alphabet. He found that the language was not pure Shanscrit, but Páli, the dialect in which the sacred writings of the Báudhas are composed; and by means of these discoveries, he proceeded to read the hitherto

illegible inscriptions, and also to make out the names of the kings on one series of the Indian coins. He met with an agreeable confirmation of his theory, from a fact observed simultaneously by himself and Professor Lassen of Bonn; that the names of Agathocles and Pantaleon, which appeared in Greek on one side of a medal, were exactly repeated on the reverse in the newly discovered alphabet.

He now applied the powerful engine he had gained to the inscription on Firúz Sháh's column at Delhi, which has long attracted the curiosity of orientalists, as well as to three other columns in Gangetic India, and found them all give way without difficulty. They proved all to contain certain edicts of Asóca; and as he proceeded with other inscriptions, he found two relating to similar mandates of the same monarch. One of these was found by the Rev. Mr. Stevenson, President of the Literary Society of Bombay, engraved on a rock at Girnár, a sacred mountain of the Báudhas, in the peninsula of Guzerát; and the other by Lieutenant Kittoe, on a rock at Dháuli, in Cattac, on the opposite coast of India. One of these contained eleven, and the other fourteen edicts: all those of the pillars were included in both, and the two rock inscriptions agreed in ten edicts on the whole. One of these, found on both the rocks, related to the erection of hospitals and other charitable foundations, which were to be established as well in Asóca's own provinces, as in others oc-

cupied by the faithful (four of whom are named), "even as far as Tambapanni; (Taprobane, or Ceylon;)" and "moreover within the dominions of Antiochus the Greek [Antíoko Yóna], of which Antiochus's generals are the rulers."

A subsequent edict, on one of the rocks, is in a shattered state, and has not been perfectly made out; but seems to express exultation in the extension of Asóca's doctrines, (especially with regard to forbearing to kill animals*,) in foreign countries, as well as in his own. It contains the following fragment: "and the Greek king besides, by whom the *chapta* (?) kings Turamáyo, Gongakena, and Maga."†

Two of these names Mr. Prinsep conceives to refer to Ptolemaios and Magas, and regards their occurrence as a proof that Asóca was not without acquaintance and intercourse with Egypt; a conclusion which may be adopted without hesitation, as the extent of the India trade, under the first Ptolemies, is a well-known fact in history. Mr. Prinsep's opinion, that the Ptolemy referred to was Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had a brother, named Magas, married to a daughter of Antiochus I., appears also to be highly probable; and would establish that the Antiochus mentioned in the other edict is either the first or second of the name: that is, either the son or grandson of Seleucus.

* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, vol. vii. p. 261.

† Ibid. p. 224.

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The synchronism between the grandson of Chandragupta and one of the early successors of Seleucus leaves no doubt of the contemporary existence of the elder princes; and fixes an epoch in Hindú chronology, to which the dates of former events may with confidence be referred.

Date of Nanda's reign.

The first date to fix is that of Nanda. Though there were eight kings between him and Chandragupta, it is not known whether they were in lineal or collateral succession, one account making them all brothers; but four of the Puránas agree in assigning only 100 years to the whole nine, including Nanda. We may therefore suppose Nanda to have come to the throne 100 years before Sandracottus, or 400 years before Christ.

Date of the death of Budha.

The sixth king, counting back from Nanda inclusive, is Ajata Satru, in whose reign Sakya died. The date of that event has been shown, on authorities independent on the Hindús, to be about 550 B. C.; and as five reigns interposed between that and 400 would only allow thirty years to each, there is no irreconcileable discrepancy between the epochs.

Probable date of the war of the "Mahá Bhárat."

Between Nanda and the war of the "Mahá Bhárat" there had been three dynasties; and the number of years during which each reigned is given in four Puránas. The aggregate is 1500 years; but the longest list gives only forty-seven kings; and the same four Puránas in another place give, with equal confidence, a totally different number of years. One makes the interval between Nanda

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and the war of the "Mahá Bhárat" 1015 years; two others, 1050; and the fourth, 1115. Now, the shortest of these periods, divided among forty-seven kings, gives upwards of twenty-one years to a reign; and to make out 1500 years, would require more than thirty-one years to each reign. Such a duration through forty-seven continuous reigns is so unlikely, that we can scarcely hesitate to prefer the medium between the shorter periods, and decide, as far as depends on the evidence of the Puránas, that the war of the "Mahá Bhárat" ended 1050 years before Nanda, or 1450 before Christ. If we adopt the belief of the Hindús, that the Védas were compiled, in their present form, at the time of the war, we must place the latter event in the fourteenth century before Christ, upwards of fifty years later than the date given by the Puránas. This alteration is recommended by the circumstance that it would still further reduce the length of the reigns. It would place the war of the "Mahá Bhárat" about 200 years before the siege of Troy. But even the longest period (of 1500 years from Nanda) would still leave ample room since the commencement of the cáli yúg, or since the flood, to dispose of the few antecedent events in Hindú history. Supposing the flood and the cáli yúg to be about the same time (as many opinions justify), there would be considerably more than 1400 years from that epoch to the war of the "Mahá Bhárat."

Dates after Chandragupta.

Two Puránas give the period from Nanda for-

wards, to the end of the fifth dynasty from him, or fourth from Sandracottus: the whole period is 836 or 854 years from Nanda, or 436 or 454 A. D. The last of these dynasties, the Andras, acceded to power about the beginning of our æra; which agrees with the mention by Pliny, in the second century, of a powerful dynasty of the same name; and although this might refer to another family of Andras in the Deckan, yet the name of Andre Indi, on the Ganges, in the Peutengerian tables, makes it equally probable that it applied to the one in question.

Coincidence with the Chinese annals.

The Chinese annals, translated by De Guignes, notice, in A. D. 408, the arrival of ambassadors from the Indian prince Yue-gnai, King of Kia-pi-li. Kia-pi-li can be no other than Capili, the birthplace and capital of Budha, which the Chinese have put for all Magada. Yue-gnai again bears some resemblance to Yaj-nasri, or Yajna, the king actually on the throne of the Andra at the period referred to. The Andra end in Pulimat, or Pulomárchish, A. D. 436; and from thence forward the chronology of Magada relapses into a confusion nearly equal to that before the war of the "Mahá Bhárat."

An embassy is indeed mentioned in the Chinese annals, as arriving in A. D. 641, from Ho-lo-mien, of the family of Kie-li-tie, a great king in India. M. de Guignes supposes his kingdom to have been Magada; but neither the king's name nor that of

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the dynasty bears the least resemblance to any in the Puránas.*

Obscurity after A.D. 436.

The Vishnu Purána states (in the prophetic tone which, as a professed work of Vyása, it is compelled to assume, in speaking of events subsequent to that sage's death,) that "after these" [Andras] there will reign —

7 A'bhíras,
10 Garddharbas,
16 Sakas,
8 Yavanas,
14 Tusháras,
13 Múndas, and
11 Maunas; who will be sovereigns of the whole earth for 1390 years: 11 Pauras follow, who reign for 300 years, and are succeeded by the Kailaka Yavanas, who reign for 106 years. All this would carry us nearly 500 years beyond the present year 1840; but, if we assume that the summing up the first dynasties into 1390 is an error, and

* The note in which M. de Guignes offers this opinion is curious, as showing, from a Chinese work which he quotes, that Magada was called Mo-kia-to, and its capital recognised by both its Hindú names Kusumapúra, for which the Chinese wrote Kia-so-mo-pou-lo, and Pataliputra, out of which they made Po-to-li-tse, by translating Putra, which means a son in Shanscrit, into their own corresponding word tse. The ambassadors in A.D. 641 could not, however, have come from Pataliputra, which had long before been deserted for Rájgrihi (or Behár); for the capital was at the latter place when visited by the Chinese traveller, in the beginning of the fifth century (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. v. p. 132.); and another Chinese, who wrote in A.D. 640, states that Pataliputra was a mass of ruins when he had seen it on his travels.

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that they were in reality contemporaneous, or nearly so, the conclusion we are led to is, that after the Andras, a period of confusion ensued, during which different parts of India were possessed by different races, of whom nothing further is known. If the Yavans be Greeks, it would, no doubt, be surprising to find eight of their monarchs reigning after A. D. 436; and the Kaikala Yavans would be still more embarrassing. They may possibly be Mussulmans.*

Immediately after all this confusion comes a list of dynasties reigning in different kingdoms; and among them is a brief notice of "the Guptas of Magada, along the Ganges, to Prayága." Now, it has been put out of all dispute, by coins and inscriptions, that a race, some of whose names ended in Gupta, did actually reign along the Ganges from the fourth or fifth to the seventh or eighth century.

There is, therefore, some truth mixed with these crudities, but it cannot be made available without external aid; and as nearly the same account is given in the other historical Puránas, we have nothing left but to give up all further attempts at the chronology of Magada.

Æras of Vicramaditya and Saliváhana.

The æra of Vicramaditya in Málwa, which begins fifty-seven years before Christ, and is in

* Professor Wilson, *Vishnu Purána*, p. 474—481. Dr. Mills, translation from the Allahabad column, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*, vol. iii. p. 257.; and other papers in that Journal, quoted by Professor Wilson.

constant use to this day all over Hindostan; and that of Saliváhana, whose æra, commencing A.D. 78, is equally current in the Deckan, might be expected to afford fixed points of reference for all events after their commencement; and they are of the greatest use in fixing the dates of grants of land which are so important a part of our materials for history. But the fictitious æra of the Puránas prevents their being employed in those collections, and there are no other chronicles in which they might be made use of. On the whole we must admit the insufficiency of the Hindú chronology, and confess that, with the few exceptions specified, we must be content with guesses, until the arrival of the Mussulmans at length put us in possession of a regular succession of events, with their dates.

## CHAP. IV.

### MEDICINE.

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THE earliest medical writers extant are Charaka and Susruta. We do not know the date of either of them; but there is a commentary on the second and later of the two, which was written in Cashmír in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and does not seem to have been the first.*

These authors were translated into Arabic, and probably soon after that nation turned its attention to literature. The Arab writers openly acknowledge their obligations to the medical writers of India, and place their knowledge on a level with that of the Greeks. It helps to fix the date of their becoming known to the Arabs, to find that two Hindús, named Manka and Saleh, were physicians to Hárún al Rashíd in the eighth century.†

Their acquaintance with medicines seems to have been very extensive. We are not surprised at their knowledge of simples, in which they gave early lessons to Europe, and more recently taught

* Most of the information in this chapter is taken from an essay on the antiquity of the Indian materia medica, by Dr. Royle, Professor of King's College, London. The additions are from *Ward's Hindoos* (vol. ii. p. 337, &c.), and Mr. Coats, *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, vol. iii. p. 232.

† Professor Dietz, quoted by Dr. Royle, p. 64.

us the benefit of smoking datura in asthma, and the use of cowitch against worms: their chymical skill is a fact more striking and more unexpected.

They knew how to prepare sulphuric acid, nitric acid, and muriatic acid; the oxide of copper, iron, lead (of which they had both the red oxide and litharge), tin, and zinc; the sulphuret of iron, copper, mercury, antimony, and arsenic; the sulphate of copper, zinc, and iron; and carbonates of lead and iron. Their modes of preparing those substances seem, in some instances, if not in all, to have been peculiar to themselves.*

Their use of these medicines seems to have been very bold. They were the first nation who employed minerals internally, and they not only gave mercury in that manner, but arsenic and arsenious acid, which were remedies in intermittents. They have long used cinnabar for fumigations, by which they produce a speedy and safe salivation.

Their surgery is as remarkable as their medicine, especially when we recollect their ignorance of anatomy. They cut for the stone, couched for the cataract, and extracted the fœtus from the womb, and in their early works enumerate no less than 127 sorts of surgical instruments.† But their instruments were probably always rude. At present they are so much so, that, though very

* See Dr. Royle, p. 44., who particularly refers to the processes for making calomel and corrosive sublimate.

† Dr. Royle, p. 49.

successful in cataract, their operations for the stone are often fatal.

They have long practised inoculation; but still many lives were lost from small-pox, until the introduction of vaccination.

The Hindú physicians are attentive to the pulse and to the state of the skin, of the tongue, eyes, &c., and to the nature of the evacuations; and they are said to form correct prognostics from the observation of the symptoms. But their practice is all empirical, their theory only tending to mislead them. Nor are they always judicious in their treatment: in fevers, for instance, they shut up the patient in a room artificially heated, and deprive him, not only of food, but drink.

They call in astrology and magic to the aid of their medicine, applying their remedies at appropriate situations of the planets, and often accompanying them with mystical verses and charms.

Many of these defects probably belonged to the art in its best days, but the science has no doubt declined; chemists can conduct their preparations successfully without having the least knowledge of the principles by which the desired changes are effected; physicians follow the practice of their instructors without inquiry; and surgery is so far neglected, that bleeding is left to the barber, bone-setting to the herdsman, and every man is ready to administer a blister, which is done with the juice of the euphorbium, and still oftener with the actual cautery.

## CHAP. V.

### LANGUAGE.

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Shanscrit.

THE Shanscrit language has been pronounced by one whose extensive acquaintance with those of other ancient and modern nations entitles his opinion to respect, to be "of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either."*

The language so highly commended seems always to have received the attention it deserved. Panini, the earliest extant writer on its grammar, is so ancient as to be mixed up with the fabulous ages. His works and those of his successors have established a system of grammar the most complete that ever was employed in arranging the elements of human speech.

I should not, if I were able, enter on its details in this place; but some explanation of them is accessible to the English reader in an essay of Mr. Colebrooke.†

* Sir W. Jones, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 422.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. p. 199. Among many marks of high polish, is one which must have particularly promoted the melody of its versification. This consists in what Mr. Colebrooke calls its euphonical orthography, by which letters are changed, not only so as to avoid harsh combinations in particular

Besides innumerable grammars and dictionaries, there are, in Shanscrit, treatises on rhetoric and composition, proportioned in number to the extent of Hindú literature in every branch.* Shanscrit is still carefully cultivated; and, though it has long been a dead language, the learned are able even now to converse in it, probably with as much ease as those of Europe found in Latin before the general diffusion of the knowledge of modern tongues. It would be curious to ascertain when it ceased to be the language of the people, and how far it ever was so in its highly polished form.

Shanscrit has of late become an object of more interest to us, from the discovery of its close connection (amounting in some cases to identity) with Greek and Latin. This fact has long been known to Shanscrit scholars, who pointed it out in reference to single words; but it has now been demonstrated by means of a comparison of the inflexions, conducted by German writers, and particularly by Mr. Bopp.†

It is observed by Mr. Colebrooke, that the language, metre, and style of a particular hymn in

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words, but so as to preserve a similar harmony throughout the whole length of each of their almost interminable compounds, and even to contribute to the music of whole periods, which are generally subjected to those modifications, for the sake of euphony, which in other languages are confined to single words.

* Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 205, &c.

† See a very succinct account of his comparison in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxxiii. p. 431.; and a more copious one in the *Annals of Oriental Literature*.

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one of the Védas, furnishes internal evidence "that the compilation of those poems in the present arrangement took place after the Shanscrit tongue had advanced from the rustic and irregular dialect in which the multitude of hymns and prayers of the Véda was composed, to the polished and sonorous language in which the mythological poems, sacred and profane, have been written."

From the Védas to Menu, and from Menu to the Puránas, Sir W. Jones conceives the change to be exactly in the same proportion as from the fragments of Numa to those of the twelve tables, and from those to the works of Cicero.

The Indian names introduced by the historians of Alexander are often resolvable into Shanscrit in its present form. No allusion is made by those authors to a sacred language, distinct from that of the people; but, in the earliest Hindú dramas, women and uneducated persons are introduced, speaking a less polished dialect, while Shanscrit is reserved for the higher characters.

Other languages of India.

Some conjectures regarding the history of Shanscrit may be suggested by the degree in which it is combined with the modern languages of India.

The five northern languages, those of the Panjáb, Canouj, Mithila (or North Behár), Bengal, and Guzerát, are, as we may infer from Mr. Colebrooke, branches of the Shanscrit, altered by the mixture of local and foreign words and new inflections, much as Italian is from Latin* ; but of the

* Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. p. 219. See also Wilson, Preface to the Mackenzie Collection, p. li.

five languages of the Deckan, three, at least, (Támul, Télugu, and Carnáta,) have an origin totally distinct from the Shanscrit, and receive words from that tongue in the same manner that Latin has been engrafted on English, or Arabic on Hindi. Of these three, Támul is so much the most pure, that it is sometimes thought to be the source of the other two. Télugu, though it preserves its own structure, is much mixed with Shanscrit words.

Of the remaining two, the language of Orissa, though probably of the Támul family, is so much indebted to Shanscrit as to lead Mr. Wilson to say that "if the Shanscrit vocables were excluded, it could not pretend to be a language." It is, indeed, often counted (instead of Guzeráti) among the five languages of the north.

Mahárashtra, or Maratta, is considered by Mr. Wilson to belong to the northern family, though always counted among those of the south. The people must therefore be a branch of those beyond the Vindya mountains, but no guess can be made at the period of their immigration.*

* The remarks on the southern languages are taken, with a very few exceptions, from Mr. Wilson's preface to the Mackenzie Papers, and from the writings of Mr. Ellis and Mr. Babington quoted in that dissertation.

## CHAP. VI.

### LITERATURE.

### *Poetry.*

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A PERSON unacquainted with Shanscrit scarcely possesses the means of forming an opinion on the poetry of the Hindús.

The singular attention to harmony which characterises the Shanscrit must give it a charm that is lost in translation; and the unbounded facility of forming compounds, which adds so much to the richness of the original, unavoidably occasions stiff and unnatural combinations in a language of a different genius.

Even the originality of Hindú poetry diminishes our enjoyment of it, by depriving it of all aid from our poetical associations. The peculiarity of the ideas and recollections of the people renders it difficult for us to enter into their spirit; while the difference of all natural appearances and productions deprives their imagery of half its beauty and makes that a source of obscurity to us, which to a native of the East would give additional vividness to every expression. What ideas can we derive from being told that a maiden's lips are a bandhujiva flower, and that the lustre of the madhuca beams on her cheeks? or, in other circumstances,

that her cheek is like the champa leaf? Yet those figures may be as expressive, to those who understand the allusions, as our own comparisons of a youthful beauty to an opening rose, or one that pines for love to a neglected primrose.

With all these disadvantages, the few specimens of Shanscrit poetry to which we have access present considerable beauties.

Drama.

Their drama, in particular, which is the department with which we are best acquainted, rises to a high pitch of excellence. Sacontalá has long been known to Europeans by the classical version of Sir W. Jones, and our acquaintance with the principal of the remaining dramas has now become familiar through the admirable translations of Mr. Wilson.

Though we possess plays written at least as early as the beginning of the Christian æra, and one which was composed in Bengal within these fifty years, yet the whole number extant does not exceed sixty. This is probably owing to the manner in which they were at first produced, being only acted once on some particular festival in the great hall or inner court of a palace*, and consequently losing all the popularity which plays in our times derive from repeated representations in different cities and in public theatres. Many must also have been lost owing to the neglect of the learned; for the taste for this species of poetry seems corrupted, if not extinct, among the Bramins; and although

* Wilson's Preface to the "Theatre of the Hindús."

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some of the least deserving specimens are still favourites, yet Professor Wilson assures us that he has met with but one Bramin who could be considered as conversant with the dramatic literature of his country.*

Of these dramas we possess translations of eight, and abstracts mixed with specimens of twenty-four more.

Though there are no tragedies among the number, none at least that terminate unhappily, yet these plays exhibit a variety not surpassed on any other stage. Besides the different classes of dramas, farces, moralities, and short pieces such as we should call interludes, the diversity arising from the subjects seems to have been almost unlimited. A play translated by Dr. Taylor of Bombay is a lively, and sometimes humorous, illustration of the tenets of the different schools of philosophy.† Of the more regular dramas, some relate to the actions of heroes; some, to the wars and loves of kings; others, to the intrigues of ministers; and others are strictly confined to the incidents of private life.

The characters are as different as the subjects. In some there is not a trace of supernatural agency or an allusion to religion. In others, nymphs of Paradise are attached to earthly lovers; gods and demons appear in others; enchantments, unconnected with religion, influence the fate of some;

* Appendix to the "Theatre of the Hindús," vol. iii. p. 97.

† This will suggest "The Clouds" of Aristophanes, but it is more like some of the moralities of the middle ages.

and in one, almost the whole Hindú Pantheon is brought on the stage to attest the innocence of the heroine.

In general, however, even in the cases where the gods afford their assistance, the interest of the drama turns entirely on human feelings and natural situations, over which the superior beings have no direct influence.

The number of acts is not fixed, and extends in practice from one to ten.

The division seems to be made when the stage becomes vacant, or when an interval is required between two parts of the action.

In general, unity of time is not much violated (though in one case twelve years passes between the first and second acts); unity of place is less attended to; but the more important point of unity of action is as well preserved as in most modern performances.

The plots are generally interesting; the dialogue lively, though somewhat prolonged; and considerable skill is sometimes shown in preparing the reader to enter fully into the feelings of the persons in the situations in which they are about to be placed.

Some judgment of the actors may be formed from the specimens still seen. Regular dramas are very rarely performed; when they are, the tone is grave and declamatory. The dresses are such as we see represented on ancient sculptures; and the high caps, or rather crowns, of the supe-

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rior characters, composed of dark azure and gold, of the form peculiar to Hindú sculpture, give an air of much greater dignity than the modern turban. Mimics, buffoons, and actors of a sort of partly extemporary farces, are common still. They are coarse, childish, and, when not previously warned, grossly indecent; but they exhibit considerable powers of acting and much comic humour.

The best dramatic authors are Cálidás, who probably lived in the fifth century, and Bhavabhúti, who flourished in the eighth. Each of these poets wrote three dramatic works, two of which, in each instance, have been translated. The first excels in tenderness and delicacy, and is full of highly poetical description. The beauties of his pastoral drama of "Sacontala" have long been deservedly admired. The "Hero and the Nymph," in Mr. Wilson's collection, is in a still more romantic strain, and may be compared (in the wildness of its design at least) to the "Tempest" and "Midsummer Night's Dream."* The other great dra-

* Mr. Mill's judgment on "Sacontala" is not, in general, favourable; but one passage is so just, and so well expressed, that I cannot refrain from quoting it. "The poem, indeed, has some beautiful passages. The courtship between Sacontala and Dushmantu (that is the name of the king) is delicate and interesting; and the workings of the passion on two amiable minds are naturally and vividly pourtrayed. The picture of the friendship which exists between the three youthful maidens is tender and delightful; and the scene which takes place when Sacontala is about to leave the peaceful hermitage where she had happily spent her youth, her expressions of tenderness to her friends, her affectionate parting with the domestic animals

matist possesses all the same qualities in an equal degree, accompanied with a sublimity of description, a manly tone, and a high and even martial spirit, that is without example in any other Hindú poet that I have heard of.

It may, indeed, be asserted of all the compositions of the Hindús, that they participate in the moral defects of the nation, and possess a character of voluptuous calm more adapted to the contemplation of the beauties of nature, than to the exertion of energy or to the enjoyment of adventure. Hence, their ordinary poetry, though flowing and elegant, and displaying a profusion of the richest imagery, is often deficient in the spirit which ought to prevent the reader's being cloyed with sweetness, and seldom moves any strong feeling, or awakens any lofty sentiment.

The emotions in which they are most successful are those of love and tenderness. They powerfully present the raptures of mutual affection, the languishment of absence, and the ravings of disappointed passion. They can even rise to the nobler feelings of devoted attachment, and generous disregard of selfish motives; but we look in vain for traits of vigour, of pride, or independence: even in their numerous battles they seem to feel little real sympathy with the combatants, and are obliged to make up by hyperbolical description for the

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she had tended, and even with the flowers and trees in which she had delighted, breathe more than pastoral sweetness."

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want of that ardent spirit which a Greek or Roman poet could easily transfuse into the bosom of his hero, while it glowed with all its fervor in his own.*

The great strength of the Shanscrit poets, as well as their great delight, is in description. Their most frequent subjects are scenes of repose and meditation, amidst sequestered woods and flowery banks, fanned by fragrant gales and cooled by limpid waters; but they are not unsuccessful in cheerful and animated landscape. Such is the description of the country round Ujein in the ninth act of "Málatì and Mádhava;" where mountains, rocks, woods, villages, and glittering rivulets combine to form an extensive and a varied prospect. The city occupies the centre of the view: its towers, temples, pinnacles, and gates are reflected on the clear stream beneath; while the groves on the banks refreshed with early rain, and the meadows brightening with the recent shower, afford a luxurious resting place to the heavy-uddered kine. Sometimes, also, they raise their efforts to the frowning mountain and the gathering tempest. Bhavabhúti, in particular, excels in this higher sort of description. His touches of wild mountain

* The following speech of a stripling in one of Bhavabhúti's plays, however, reminds us of the "joys of combat" which delighted the northern warrior: —

"*Boy.* The soldiers raise their bows and point their shafts
Against you, and the hermitage is still remote.
Fly! &c.

"*Lava.* Let the shafts fall. Oh! this is glorious!"

scenery in different places, and his description of the romantic rocks and solemn forests round the source of the Godáveri, are full of grandeur and sublimity. Among his most impressive descriptions is one where his hero repairs at midnight to a field of tombs, scarcely lighted by the flames of funeral pyres, and evokes the demons of the place, whose appearance, filling the air with their shrill cries and unearthly forms, is painted in dark and powerful colours; while the solitude, the moaning of the winds, the hoarse sound of the brook, the wailing owl, and the long-drawn howl of the jackall, which succeed on the sudden disappearance of the spirits, almost surpass in effect the presence of their supernatural terrors.*

This taste for description is more striking from its contrast with the practice of some of their neighbours.

In Persian poets, for instance, a long description of inanimate nature is rarely met with. Their genius is for the expression of deep feelings or of sublime conceptions; and, in their brief and indistinct attempts at description, they attend exclusively to the sentiment excited by objects in the mind, quite neglecting the impression which they make on the senses.

But a Shanscrit poet, without omitting the characteristic emotion, presents all the elements from which it springs, delineates the peculiar features

* Málatì and Mádhava, Act I. Scene 1., in *Wilson's Theatre of the Hindoos.*

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of the scene, and exhibits the whole in so picturesque a manner, that a stranger, even with his ignorance of the names of plants and animals, might easily form a notion of the nature of an Indian landscape.

Thus, in a description of a Persian garden, the opening buds smile, the rose spreads forth all her charms to the intoxicated nightingale; the breeze brings the recollections of youth, and the spring invites the youths and damsels to his bridal pavilion. But the lover is without enjoyment in this festival of nature. The passing rill recalls the flight of time; the nightingale seems to lament the inconstancy of the rose, and to remember that the wintry blast will soon scatter her now blooming leaves. He calls on the heavens to join their tears to his, and on the wind to bear his sighs to his obdurate fair.

A Hindú poet, on the other hand, represents, perhaps, the deep shade of a grove, where the dark tamála mixes its branches with the pale foliage of the nimba, and the mangoe tree extends its ancient arms among the quivering leaves of the lofty pípala, some creeper twines round the jambu, and flings out its floating tendrils from the topmost bough. The asóca hangs down the long clusters of its glowing flowers, the madhavi exhibits its snow-white petals, and other trees pour showers of blossoms from their loaded branches. The air is filled with fragrance, and is still, but for the hum of bees and the rippling of the passing rill.

The note of the cóil is from time to time heard at a distance, or the low murmur of the turtle-dove on some neighbouring tree. The lover wanders forth into such a scene, and indulges his melancholy in this congenial seclusion. He is soothed by the south wind, and softened by the languid odour of the mangoe blossoms, till he sinks down overpowered in an arbour of jessamine, and abandons himself to the thoughts of his absent mistress.

The figures employed by the two nations partake of this contrast: those of the Persians are conventional hints, which would scarcely convey an idea to a person unaccustomed to them. A beautiful woman's form is a cypress; her locks are musk (in blackness); her eyes a languid narcissus; and the dimple in her chin a well; but the Shanscrit similes, in which they deal more than in metaphors, are in general new and appropriate, and are sufficient, without previous knowledge, to place the points of resemblance in a vivid light.

The Shanscrit poets have, no doubt, commonplaces, and some of them as fanciful as those of the Persians; but in general the topics seem drawn from the writer's memory and imagination, and not adopted from a common stock which has supplied the wants of a succession of former authors. Having said so much of the Hindú drama, and having anticipated the general character of Shanscrit poetry, I shall be more brief with what remains.

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Sacred poetry.

The most voluminous as well as the most ancient and important portion of Hindú verse consists of the sacred and the epic or heroic poems. On the sacred poems Mr. Colebrooke has pronounced *, that their "general style is flat, diffuse, and no less deficient in ornament than abundant in repetitions." The specimens which have been translated give no ground for questioning this decision.

Of the Védas, the first part, consisting of hymns, &c., can alone be classed with poetry; and however sublime their doctrines, it appears that the same praise cannot be extended to their composition.

The extracts translated by Mr. Colebrooke, Rám Móhan Rái, and Sir W. Jones, and the large specimen in the "Oriental Magazine" for December, 1825, afford no sign of imagination, and no example of vigour of thought or felicity of diction.

The same, with a few exceptions, applies to the prayers and hymns in Colebrooke's "Treatise on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindús."†

Heroic poems. The "Rámáyana."

Next in succession to the Védas comes the great heroic poem of the "Rámáyana," which commemo-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. x. p. 425.

† A cursory view of the portion of the "Rig Véda" translated by Mr. Rosen (lately published) does not raise our opinion of those works. It seems to be a collection of short hymns addressed to the gods of the elements and the heavenly bodies, conveying praises and petitions, little varied, and but rarely showing signs of a poetical spirit. The topics of praise appear to be confined to the effect of each god's power on the material world; and the prayers are even less spiritual, being, in a great majority of instances, for wealth alone.

rates the conquest of Ceylon.* The author, Válmiki, is said to have been contemporary with the event; but not even a poet would invest a living warrior with supernatural powers, or would give him an army of apes for allies. A considerable period must have elapsed before the real circumstances of the story were sufficiently forgotten to admit of such bold embellishments. This argument, however, shows the early date of the hero, without impugning the antiquity of the poem. Of that there can be no dispute; for the language approaches nearer than any other Shanscrit poem to the early form used in the Védas, and an epitome is introduced into the "Mahá Bhárat," itself the work of a remote age.

The "Mahá Bhárat."

This last poem is ascribed to Vyása, the author of the Védas, and an eye-witness of the exploits which it records. But within the poem itself is an acknowledgment that it was put into its present form by Sauti, who received it through another person from Vyása: 24,000 verses out of 100,000 are alleged, in the same place, to be the work of the original poet.† Its pretensions to such remote antiquity are disproved by the advanced stage of the language; and the mention of Yavanas‡ (if that term be applied to the Greeks) shows that some portion is of later date than the middle of

* See p. 173., and Book IV. chap. i.

† Oriental Magazine, vol. iii. p. 133.

‡ Translation at the place just referred to, and Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 101.

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the fourth century before Christ. But there seems no ground to question the opinion of one well qualified to judge, that it was familiar to the Hindús at least two or three centuries before Christ.* It illustrates the date of both works to observe that, although the heroes in both are incarnations of Vishnú, Ráma commonly appears throughout the poem in his human character alone, and though Crishna is sometimes declared to be the Supreme Being in a human form, yet his actions imply no such divinity, and the passages in which his identity with the ruler of the universe are most clearly stated may be suspected of being the production of a later period than the rest.†

With the exception of Mr. Colebrooke (who includes them in his censure of the sacred poetry), all who have read the heroic poems in the original are enthusiastic in their praise; and their beauties have been most felt by those whose own productions entitle their judgment to most respect. Nor is this admiration confined to critics who have peculiarly devoted themselves to Oriental literature: Milman and Schlegel vie with Wilson and Jones in their applause; and from one or other of those writers we learn the simplicity and originality of the composition; the sublimity, grace, and pathos of particular passages; the natural dignity of the actors; the holy purity of the manners, and the inexhaustible fertility of imagination in the authors.

* Oriental Magazine, vol. iii. p. 133.

† Preface to the Vishnú Purána, p. ix.

From such evidence, and not from translations in prose, we should form our opinions of the originals. If we were obliged to judge from such of those literal versions as we possess in English (which are mostly from the "Rámáyana"), we should be unable to discover any of the beauties dwelt on, except simplicity; and should conceive the poems to be chiefly characterised by extreme flatness and prolixity. Some of the poetical translations exhibit portions more worthy of the encomiums bestowed on them. The specimens of the "Mahá Bhárat" which appeared, in blank verse, in the "Oriental Magazine," * are of this last description. It is true that, though selections, and improved by compression, they are still tediously diffuse; but they contain many spirited and poetical passages: the similes, in particular, are short, simple, and picturesque; and, on the whole, the author must be acknowledged to tread, at whatever distance, on the path of Homer.

The episode of "Nala and Damyanti," in the same poem †, being a domestic story, is better fitted than battles to the Hindú genius; and is a model of beautiful simplicity. Among the other episodes in the same poem (as it now stands) is the "Bhagwat Gíta," which is supposed to be the work of a much later age. It is a poetical exposition of the doctrines of a particular school of theology, and has been admired for the clearness and beauty of the

* For December, 1824, and March and September, 1825.

† Translated by the Rev. H. H. Milman.

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language and illustrations. Whatever may be its merits as to clearness, it deserves high praise for the skill with which it is adapted to the original epic, and for the tenderness and elegance of the narrative by means of which it is introduced.

The legendary part of the Puránas may be regarded as belonging to this description of poetry. Some of the extracts introduced by Colonel Kennedy in his "Researches into Hindú Mythology" are spirited and poetical.

The portion of the "Rámáyana" of Bódáyanah translated by Mr. Ellis in the "Oriental Magazine" for September, 1826, is more conformable to European taste than the other translations; but it seems doubtful, from the note in page 8., whether it is designed to be a literal translation; and, consequently, it cannot safely be taken as a specimen of Hindú poetry.

Descriptive.

The "Méghadúta" * is an excellent example of purely descriptive poetry. A spirit banished from heaven charges a cloud with a message to his celestial mate, and describes the countries over which it will have to pass.

The poet avails himself of the favourite Hindú topic of the setting in of the rainy season, amidst assembled clouds and muttering thunder, the revival of nature from its previous languor, the rejoicing of some animals at the approach of rain, and the long lines of cranes, and other migratory

* Translated by Professor Wilson, and published with the original Shanscrit, in 1813.

birds that appear in the higher regions of the sky: he describes the varied landscape and the numerous cities over which the cloud is to pass, interspersing allusions to the tales which are associated with the different scenes. CHAP. VI.

Intermixed with the whole are the lamentations of the exile himself, and his recollections of all the beauties and enjoyments from which he is excluded.

The description is less exuberant than in most poems, but it does not escape the tameness which has been elsewhere ascribed to Shanscrit verse.

Pastoral.

The "Gíta Góvinda, or Songs of Jaya Déva*," are the only specimens I know of pure pastoral. They exhibit, in perfection, the luxuriant imagery, the voluptuous softness, and the want of vigour and interest which form the beauties and defects of the Hindú school.

They are distinguished also by the use of conceits; which, as the author lived as late as the fourteenth century, are, perhaps, marks of the taste introduced by the Mahometans.

Satire.

I have seen no specimen of Hindú satire. Some of their dramatic performances seem to partake of this character.† Judging from the heaviness of the ludicrous parts occasionally introduced into the regular plays, I should not expect to find much success in this department.

Tales and fables.

Though there are several other poetical works

* Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 185.

† See *Wilson's Hindú Drama*, vol. iii. p. 97, &c. of the Appendix.

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translated, enough has, perhaps, been said on this subject, considering the little value of opinions formed on such grounds. An important part of the Hindú literature, however, still remains to be noticed, in their tales and fables; in both of which species of composition they appear to have been the instuctors of all the rest of mankind. The most ancient known fables (those of Bidpái) have been found almost unchanged in their Shanscrit dress; and to them almost all the fabulous relations of other countries have been clearly traced.* The complicated scheme of story-telling, tale within tale, like the "Arabian Nights," seems also to be of their invention, as are the subjects of many well-known tales and romances both Oriental and European. In their native form, they are told with simplicity, and not without spirit and interest. It is remarkable, however, that the taste for description seems here to have changed sides, the Hindú stories having none of those gorgeous and picturesque accompaniments which are so captivating in the Arabian and Persian tales.†

* By Mr. Colebrooke, the Baron de Sacy, and Professor Wilson.

† As a guide to further inquiry into the Indian origin of European fictions, consult the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 156.

## CHAP. VII.

### THE FINE ARTS.

### *Music.*



THE Hindú music appears, from the accounts of Sir W. Jones * and Mr. Paterson †, to be systematic and refined.

They have eighty-four modes ‡, of which thirty-six are in general use, and each of which, it appears, has a peculiar expression, and the power of moving some particular sentiment or affection.

They are named from the seasons of the year and the hours of the day and night, and are each considered to possess some quality appropriate to the time.

Musical science is said to have declined like all others; and, certainly, the present airs do not give

* Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 55.

† Ibid. vol. ix. p. 445.

‡ Sir W. Jones explains that these modes are not to be confounded with our modern modes, which result from the system of accords now established in Europe. The Indian modes are formed partly "by giving the lead to one or other of our twelve sounds, and varying, in seven different ways, the position of the semitones." This gives the number of eighty-four, which has been retained, although many of the original, or rather possible, modes have been dispensed with, and the number made up by aids drawn "from the association of ideas and the mutilation of the regular scales."

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to an unlearned ear the impression of any such variety or complication. They are almost all of one sort, remarkably sweet and plaintive, and distinguishable at once from the melodies of any other nation. To do them justice, however, they should be heard from a single voice, or accompanied by the vína, which has been called the Indian lyre.

The usual performance is by a band of fiddles and drums beaten with the fingers. It is loud and unmusical, and would drown the voices of the singers if they were not exerted to a pitch that is fatal to all delicacy or softness.*

### *Painting.*

Painting is still in the lowest stage. Walls of houses are often painted in water colours, and sometimes in oils. The subjects are mythology, battles, processions, wrestlers, male and female figures, and animals, with no landscape, or at best a tree or two or a building stuck in without any knowledge of perspective, or any attention to light and shade. Of the works of other nations they most resemble the paintings on the walls of Egyptian tombs. They have also pictures of a small size in

* It is but fair to give the following opinion from a person evidently qualified to judge (in the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine* for December, 1825, p. 197.): — "We may add, that the only native singers and players whom Europeans are in the way of hearing, in most parts of India, are regarded by their scientific brethren in much the same light as a ballad-singer at the corner of the street by the primo soprano of the Italian Opera."

a sort of distemper, which, in addition to the above subjects, include likenesses of individuals.

The Hindús have often beautifully illuminated manuscripts, but the other ornaments are better executed than the figures. If portraits were not spoken of as common in the dramas, I should suspect that they had learned this art from the Mussulmans, by whom (in spite of the discouragement given by the Mahometan religion) they are very far surpassed.

### *Sculpture.*

One would expect that sculpture would be carried to high perfection among a people so devoted to polytheism; and it certainly is not for want of employment that it has failed to attain to excellence. Besides innumerable images, all caves and temples are covered with statues and reliefs; and the latter are often bold, including complicated groups, and expressing various passions. They are sometimes very spirited, and neither the sculptures nor paintings fail to produce very fine specimens of grace in figure and attitude; but there is a total ignorance of anatomy, and an inattention even to the obvious appearances of the limbs and muscles, together with a disregard of proportion between different figures, and a want of skill in grouping, which must entirely exclude the best of the Hindú sculpture from coming into the most remote comparison with European works of art.

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## *Architecture.*

The numerous edifices erected by the Hindús attest their knowledge of the practice of architecture; and if any confidence can be given to the claims of the books of which fragments still remain, they seem early to have been acquainted with the science.

A candid and judicious review of the extant works on architecture is contained in a late essay by an intelligent native, where, also, the system taught by them is ably developed.*

The principles of the art seem, by this essay, to have been well understood; and numerous rules appear to have been derived from them.

The various mouldings, twelve in number, are described; some (the cyma, toro, cavetto, &c.) are the same as our own, and a few are peculiar. The forms and proportions of pedestals, bases, shafts, capitals, and entablatures are given; how fully, in some cases, may be conjectured from there being sixty-four sorts of bases. There are no fixed orders, but the height of a column may vary from six to ten diameters, and its proportions regulate, though not strictly, those of the capitals, intercolumniations, &c. This place does not admit of any specification of the rules of architecture, or anything beyond a general notion of the native

* Essay on Hindú Architecture, by Rám Ráz, published by the Oriental Translation Fund.

buildings which are now to be seen in India. The style of those structures has been supposed to resemble that of Egypt. It does so only in the massy character both of the buildings and the materials, and in the quantity of sculpture on some descriptions of edifices. The practice of building high towers at gateways is also similar, but in Egypt there is one on each side, and in India only one over the gateway.

Some few of the Egyptian columns bear a resemblance to some in the cave temples; but these are all the points in which any similarity can be discovered.

The two most striking features in Egyptian architecture are, the use of pyramids, and the manner in which the sides of every building slope inwards until they reach the top, where they meet a flat roof with a particularly bold and deep cornice. Neither of these characteristics is to be found in India. Pyramidal roofs to the halls before temples are not uncommon, but they are hollow within, and supported by walls or pillars. Solid pyramids are unknown; and even the roofs are diversified on the outside with acroteria and other ornaments, that take away all resemblance to the Egyptian pyramids. Walls are always perpendicular, and though towers of temples diminish gradually, yet they do so in a manner peculiar to themselves, and bear as much resemblance to our slender steeples as to broad masses of Egyptian architecture. They,

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in fact, hold an intermediate place between both, but have little likeness to either.

In the south they are generally a succession of stories, each narrower than the one below it; and north of the Godáveri they more frequently taper upwards, but with an outward curve in the sides, by means of which there is a greater swell near the middle than even at the base. They do not come quite to a point, but are crowned by a flattened dome, or some more fanciful termination, over which is, in all cases, a high pinnacle of metal gilt, or else a trident, or other emblem peculiar to the god. Though plainer than the rest of the temple, the towers are never quite plain, and are often stuck over with pinnacles, and covered with other ornaments of every description.

The sanctuary is always a small, nearly cubical chamber, scarcely lighted by one small door, at which the worshipper presents his offering and prefers his supplication. In very small temples this is the whole building; but in others it is surmounted by the tower, is approached through spacious halls, and is surrounded by courts and colonnades, including other temples and religious buildings. At Seringam there are seven different inclosures, and the outer one is near four miles in circumference.* The colonnades which line the interior of the courts, or form approaches to the

* Orme's Indostan, vol. i. p. 182.

temple, are often so deep as to require many rows of pillars, which are generally high, slender, and delicate, but thickly set. Gothic aisles have been compared to avenues of oaks, and these might be likened to groves of palm trees.

There are often lower colonnades, in which, and in many other places, are highly wrought columns, round, square, and octagon, or mixing all three; sometimes cut into the shape of vases, and hung with chains or garlands; sometimes decorated with the forms of animals, and sometimes partly composed of groups of human figures.

Clusters of columns and pilasters are frequent in the more solid parts of the building; where, also, the number of salient and retiring angles, and the corresponding breaks in the entablature, increase the richness and complexity of the effect. The posts and lintels of the doors, the panels and other spaces, are inclosed and almost covered by deep borders of mouldings, and a profusion of arabesques of plants, flowers, fruits, men, animals, and imaginary beings; in short, of every species of embellishment that the most fertile fancy could devise. These arabesques, the running patterns of plants and creepers in particular, are often of an elegance scarcely equalled in any other part of the world.

The walls are often filled with sculptures in relief; exhibiting animated pictures of the wars of the gods and other legends. Groups of mytholo-

gical figures, likewise often run along the frieze, and add great richness to the entablature.*

Temples, such as have been described, are sometimes found assembled in considerable numbers. At the ruins of Bhuvanéswara, in Orissa, for instance, it is impossible to turn the eye in any direction from the great tower without taking into the view upwards of forty or fifty stone towers of temples, none less than fifty or sixty, and some from 150 to 180 feet high.†

Those of Bijáyanagar, near the left bank of the river Tumbadra, are of still more magnificent dimensions.

But, notwithstanding their prodigious scale, the effect produced by the Hindú pagodas never equals the simple majesty and symmetry of a Grecian temple, nor even the grandeur arising from the swelling domes and lofty arches of a mosque. The extensive parts of the building want height, and the high ones are deficient in breadth; there is no combination between the different parts; and the general result produces a conviction that, in this art, as in most other things, the Hindús display more richness and beauty in details than greatness in the conception of the whole. The cave tem-

* There are some beautiful specimens of Hindú architecture in Tod's "Rajasthan." The work of Rám Ráz shows the details every where employed, as well as the general architecture of the south; but the splendid works of the Daniells exhibit in perfection every species of cave or temple in all the wide range of India.

† Mr. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 307.

ples, alone, exhibit boldness and grandeur of design.

The impression made on the spectator by favourable specimens of temples, is that of great antiquity and sanctity, accompanied with a sort of romantic mystery, which neither the nature of the religion itself nor the familiarity occasioned by the daily sight of its ceremonies seems suited to inspire.

Though in temples of recent formation there is sometimes a mixture of the Mahometan style; yet the general character of these buildings is strikingly original, and unlike the structures of other nations. We may infer from this that the principles of the art were established in early times; but we have no reason to think that any of the great works which now attract admiration are of very ancient date. Even the caves have no claim to great antiquity. The inscriptions, in a character which was in use at least three centuries before Christ, and which has long been obsolete, would lead us to believe that the Báudha caves must be older than the Christian æra *; but those of the Hindús are shown beyond doubt, from the mythological subjects on their walls, to be at least as modern as the eighth or ninth century.† The sculptured

* An extensive Báudha cave is mentioned by the Chinese traveller in the very beginning of the fifth century, and must have been excavated in the fourth at latest. — *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. v. p. 103.

† Mr. Erskine, *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, and Professor Wilson, *Mackenzie Papers*, Preface, p. lxx.

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works at Mahá Balipúram, south of Madras, have been carried back to the remotest æra; but the accounts on the spot assign their construction to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries after Christ, and the sculptures on the walls afford a perfect confirmation of the tradition.*

Some of the most celebrated *built* temples are of very modern date. The pagoda of Jagannát (of which we have heard so much), and the Black Pagoda, in the same district, have been mentioned as among the most ancient of Hindú temples; yet the first is well known to have been completed in A. D. 1198, and the second in A. D. 1241.† Many of the other great temples are doubtless much older than this; but there are no proofs of the great antiquity of any of them, and some presumptions to the contrary.

The palaces are more likely to adopt innovations than the temples; but many retain the Hindú character, though constructed in comparatively recent times.

The oldest of these show little plan, or else have been so often added to that the original plan is lost. Being generally of solid construction, and with terraced roofs, the facility is great of building one house on the roof of another; so that, besides spreading towards the sides, they are piled upwards to a great height, and with great irregularity.

They generally contain small courts surrounded

* Professor Wilson, *Mackenzie Papers*, Introduction, p. lxxi.

† Stirling's Orissa, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. pp. 315. 327.

with high buildings; sometimes open, and sometimes shaded with the trees best adapted for that purpose. There is always a deep colonnade round each court.

The great rooms of state are upstairs, closed round like ours, not running to the whole height of the house, and open at one side like Mahometan divans. The stairs are narrow and steep, and cut out of the thickness of the wall.

The same remarks apply to the private houses, which are hardly entitled to come under the head of architecture.

Those of rich people have a small court or two, with buildings round, almost always terraced, sometimes left in the full glare of the white stucco, sometimes coloured of a dusky red, and the walls sometimes painted with trees or mythological and other stories. All are as crowded and ill-arranged as can be imagined.

Perhaps the greatest of all the Hindú works are the tanks, which are reservoirs for water, of which there are two kinds; one dug out of the earth, and the other formed by damming up the mouth of a valley. In the former case there are stone or other steps all round, down to the water, generally the whole length of each face, and in many instances temples round the edge, and little shrines down the steps. In the other sort these additions are confined to the embankment. The dug tanks are often near towns, for bathing, &c., but are also

made use of for irrigation. The dams are always for the latter purpose. Many of them are of vast extent, and the embankments are magnificent works, both in respect to their elevation and solidity. Some of them form lakes, many miles in circumference, and water great tracts of country.

One species of Hindú well is also remarkable. It is frequently of great depth, and of considerable breadth. The late ones are often round, but the more ancient, square. They are surrounded, for their whole depth, with galleries, in the rich and massy style of Hindú works, and have often a broad flight of steps, which commences at some distance from the well, and passes under part of the galleries down to the water.

The most characteristic of the Hindú bridges are composed of stone posts, several of which form a pier, and which are connected by stone beams. Such bridges are common in the south of India. Others are on thick piers of masonry, with narrow Gothic arches; but their antiquity is doubtful, nor does it appear that the early Hindús knew the arch, or could construct vaults or domes, otherwise than by layers of stone, projecting beyond those beneath, as in the Treasury of Atreus in Mycenæ.

Among other species of architecture must be mentioned the columns and arches, or rather gateways, erected in honour of victories. There is a highly wrought example of the former, 120 feet high, at Chitór, which is represented in Tod's "Ra-

jasthan."* Of the triumphal arches (if that term may be applied to square openings), the finest example is at Barnagar, in the north of Guzerát. It is indeed among the richest specimens of Hindú art.

* Vol. i. pp. 328. 761.

## CHAP. VIII.

### OTHER ARTS.

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Weaving.

Of the Indian manufactures, the most remarkable is that of cotton cloth, the beauty and delicacy of which was so long admired, and which in fineness of texture has never yet been approached in any other country.

Their silk manufactures were also excellent, and were probably known to them, as well as the art of obtaining the material, at a very early period.*

Gold and silver brocade were also favourite, and perhaps original, manufactures of India.

Dyeing.

The brilliancy and permanency of many of their dyes have not yet been equalled in Europe.

Working in gold.

Their taste for minute ornament fitted them to excel in goldsmiths' work.

Their fame for jewels originated more in the bounty of nature than in their own skill; for their taste is so bad that they give a preference to yellow pearls, and table diamonds; and their setting is comparatively rude, though they often combine their jewellery into very gorgeous ornaments.

Their way of working at all trades is very simple, and their tools few and portable. A smith brings

* Mr. Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 61.

his small anvil, and the peculiar sort of bellows which he uses, to the house where he is wanted: A carpenter, of course, does so with more ease, working on the floor, and securing any object with his toes as easily as with his hands. CHAP. VIII.

## CHAP. IX.

### AGRICULTURE.

BOOK III.

THE nature of the soil and climate make agriculture a simple art. A light plough, which he daily carries on his shoulder to the field, is sufficient, with the help of two small oxen, to enable the husbandman to make a shallow furrow in the surface, in which to deposit the grain. Sowing is often performed by a sort of drill (it is scarcely entitled to the addition of plough), which sheds the seed through five or six hollow canes; and a board, on which a man stands, serves for a harrow. A hoe, a mattock, and a few other articles, complete the implements of husbandry. Reaping is performed with the sickle: the grain is trodden out by cattle, brought home in carts, and kept in large dry pits under ground. The fields, though the bounds of each are carefully marked, are generally uninclosed; and nothing interrupts their continuity, except occasional varieties in the crops.

But although the Indian agriculture has such a character of simplicity, there are some peculiarities in it which call forth certain sorts of skill and industry not required elsewhere, and there are some descriptions of cultivation to which the former character does not at all apply.

The summer harvest is sufficiently watered by the rains, but a great part of the winter crop requires artificial irrigation. This is afforded by rivers, brooks, and ponds; but chiefly by wells. In the best parts of the country there is a well in every field, from which water is conveyed in channels, and received in little beds, divided by low ridges of earth. It is raised by oxen in a large bucket, or rather *bag*, of pliant leather, which has often an ingenious contrivance, by which it empties itself when drawn up.

In some soils it is necessary, every three or four years, to eradicate the weeds by deep ploughing, which is done with a heavy plough, drawn by buffaloes, at a season when the ground is saturated with moisture. Manure is little used for general cultivation, but it is required in quantities for sugar cane, and many other sorts of produce. Many sorts also require to be carefully fenced; and are sometimes surrounded by mud walls, but usually by high and impenetrable hedges of cactus, euphorbium, aloe, and other strong prickly plants, as well as by other thorny bushes and creepers.

One great labour is to scare away the flocks of birds, which devour a great part of the harvest in spite of all precautions. Scarecrows have some effect, but the chief dependence is on a man, who stands on a high wooden stage overlooking the field, shouting, and throwing stones from a sling, which is so contrived as to make a loud crack at every discharge.

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The Indians understand rotation of crops, though their almost inexhaustible soil renders it often unnecessary. They class the soils with great minuteness, and are well informed about the produce for which each is best, and the mode of cultivation which it requires. They have the injudicious practice of mixing different kinds of grain in one field, sometimes to come up together, and sometimes in succession.

Some of the facts mentioned affect armies and travellers. At particular seasons, the whole face of the country is as open and passable as the road, except near villages and streams, where the high inclosures form narrow lanes, and are great obstructions to bodies of passengers. Large water-courses, or ducts, by which water is drawn from rivers or ponds, also form serious obstacles.

These remarks are always liable to exceptions from varieties in different parts of India; and in the rice countries, as Bengal and the coast of Coromandel, they are almost inapplicable. There, the rice must be completely flooded, often requires to be transplanted at a certain stage, and is a particularly laborious and disagreeable sort of cultivation.

## CHAP. X.

### COMMERCE.

CHAP. X.

External commerce.

Though many articles of luxury are mentioned in Menu, it does not appear that any of them were the produce of foreign countries. Their abundance, however, proves that there was an open trade between the different parts of India.

There is one passage in the Code* in which interest on money lent on risk is said to be fixed by "men well acquainted with *sea voyages*, or journeys by land." As the word used in the original for *sea* is not applicable to any inland waters, the fact may be considered as established, that the Hindús navigated the ocean as early as the age of the Code, but it is probable that their enterprise was confined to a coasting trade. An intercourse with the Mediterranean no doubt took place at a still earlier period; but it is uncertain whether it was carried on by land, or partly by sea; and, in either case, whether the natives of India took a share in it beyond their own limits. It seems not improbable that it was in the hands of the Arabs, and that part crossed the narrow sea from the coast on the west of Sind to Muscat, and then passed through Arabia to Egypt and Syria; while another branch might go by land, or along the coast, to Babylon

* Chap. VIII. § 156, 157.

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and Persia.* Our first clear accounts of the seas west of India give no signs of trade carried on by Indians in that direction. Nearchus, who commanded Alexander's fleet (in 326 B. C.), did not meet a single ship in coasting from the Indus to the Euphrates; and expressly says that fishing boats were the only vessels he saw, and those only in particular places, and in small numbers. Even in the Indus, though there were boats, they were few and small; for, by Arrian's account, Alexander was obliged to build most of his fleet himself, including all the larger vessels, and to man them with sailors from the Mediterranean.† The same author, in enumerating the Indian classes, says of the fourth class (that of tradesman and artizans), "of this class also are the ship-builders and the sailors, as many as navigate the rivers‡:" from which we may infer that, as far as his knowledge went, there were no Indians employed on the sea.

Trade from the west coast.

The next accounts that throw light on the western trade of India are furnished by a writer of the second century before Christ§, whose knowledge only extended to the intercourse between Egypt and the south of Arabia, but who mentions cinnamon and cassia as among the articles imported,

* Vincent's Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, vol. ii. pp. 357—370.

† See *Expeditio Alexandri*, book vi. pp. 235, 236., ed. 1704, and *Indica*, chap. xviii. p. 332. of the same edition.

‡ Indica, chap. xii. p. 325.

§ Agatharchides, preserved in Diodorus and Photius. See *Vincent's Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. ii. p. 25.

and who, moreover, expressly states that ships came from India to the ports of Sabæa (the modern Yemen). From all that appears in this author we should conclude that the trade was entirely in the hands of the Arabs.

It is not till the first century after Christ that we obtain a distinct account of the course of this trade, and a complete enumeration of the commodities which were the objects of it. This is given in the "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," apparently the work of an experienced practical sailor in that part of the ocean. He describes the whole coast of the Red Sea, and of the south-east of Arabia; and that of India, from the Indus round Cape Comorin to a point high up on the coast of Coromandel; and gives accounts of the commerce carried on within those limits, and in some places beyond them. From this writer it appears that, nearly until his time, the ships from India continued to cross the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and creep along the shore of Arabia to the mouth of the Red Sea; but that, at a recent period, the Greeks from Egypt, if not all navigators, used to quit the coast soon after leaving the Red Sea, and stretch across the Indian Ocean to the coast of Malabár.

The trade thus carried on was very extensive, but appears to have been conducted by Greeks and Arabs. Arabia is described as a country filled with pilots, sailors, and persons concerned in commercial business; but no mention is made of any

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similar description of persons among the Indians, nor is there any allusion to Indians out of their own country, except that they are mentioned with the Arabs and Greeks, as forming a mixed population, who were settled in small numbers on an island near the mouth of the Red Sea, supposed to be Socotra. So much, indeed, were the Arabs the carriers of the Indian trade, that in Pliny's time their settlers filled the western shores of Ceylon, and were also found established on the coast of Malabár.* But in the same work (the "Periplus") the Indians are represented as actively engaged in the traffic on their own coast. There were boats at the Indus to receive the cargoes of the ships which were unable to enter the river on account of the bar at its mouth: fishing boats were kept in employ near the opening of the Gulf of Cambay to pilot vessels coming to Barygaza, or Baróch; where, then as now, they were exposed to danger from the extensive banks of mud, and from the rapid rise of the tides. From Baróch, southward, the coast was studded with ports, which the author calls *local* emporia, and which, we may infer, were visited by vessels employed in the coasting trade; but it is not till the author has got to the coast on the east of Cape Comorin, that he first speaks of large vessels which crossed the Bay of Bengal to the Ganges and to Chryse, which is probably Sumatra, or the Malay peninsula. This

Coasting trade.

* Vincent's Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, vol. ii. p. 283.

Trade from the east coast.

last circumstance is in complete accordance with the accounts derived from the east, by which the inhabitants of the coast of Coromandel seem early to have been distinguished by their maritime enterprise from their countrymen on the west of India. It is probable, from the nature of the countries which they water, that at the same time when Nearchus saw so little sign of commerce on the Indus, the Ganges may have been covered with boats, as it is at this moment, and as the number of ancient and civilised kingdoms on its shores would lead us to anticipate. The commodities supplied by so rich and extensive a region could not but engage the attention of the less advanced countries in the Deckan; and as the communication between that part of India and the Ganges was interrupted by forests, and plundering tribes, both probably even wilder than they are now, a strong temptation was held out to the sailors on the eastern coast to encounter the lesser danger of making the direct passage over the Bay of Bengal; on which, without being often out of sight of land, they would be beyond the reach of the inhabitants of the shore.

This practice once established, it would be an easy effort to cross the upper part of the bay, and before long, the broadest portion of it also, which is that bounded by the Malay peninsula and Sumatra. But, whatever gave the impulse to the inhabitants of the coast of Coromandel, it is from the north part of that tract that we first hear of

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Hindú settlements in Java and other eastern islands.

Indians who sailed boldly into the open sea. The histories of Java give a distinct account of a numerous body of Hindús from Cling (Calinga), who landed on their island, civilised the inhabitants, and who fixed the date of their arrival by establishing the æra still subsisting, the first year of which fell in the seventy-fifth year before Christ. The truth of this narrative is proved beyond doubt by the numerous and magnificent Hindú remains that still exist in Java, and by the fact that, although the common language is Malay, the sacred language, that of historical and poetical compositions, and of most inscriptions, is a dialect of Shanscrit. The early date is almost as decisively proved by the journal of the Chinese pilgrim in the end of the fourth century, who found Java entirely peopled by Hindús, and who sailed from the Ganges to Ceylon, from Ceylon to Java, and from Java to China, in ships manned by crews professing the Braminical religion.* The Hindú religion in Java was afterwards superseded by that of Budha; but the Indian government subsisted till the end of the fourteenth century; when it was subverted by Mahometan proselytes, converted by Arab missionaries in the course of the preceding century. The island of Báli, close to the east of Java, is still inhabited by Hindús; who have Malay or Tartar features, but profess to be of the four Hindú classes. It is not impossible that they may be so

* See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. IX. pp. 136—138.

descended, notwithstanding the alteration in their features; but it is more probable that their pure descent is a fiction, as we have an example of a still more daring imposture in the poets of Java, who have transferred the whole scene of the "Mahá Bhárat," with all the cities, kings, and heroes of the Jamna and Ganges, to their own island.



**Trade in times subsequent to the Greeks.**

The accounts of voyagers and travellers in times subsequent to the "Periplus" speak of an extensive commerce with India, but afford no information respecting the part taken in it by the Indians, unless it be by their silence; for while they mention Arab and Chinese ships as frequenting the ports of India, they never allude to any voyage as having been made by a vessel of the latter country.*

Marco Polo, indeed, speaks of pirates on the coast of Malabár, who *cruised* for the whole summer; but it appears, afterwards, that their practice was to lie at anchor, and consequently close to the shore, only getting under weigh on the approach of a prize. When Vasco da Gama reached the coast of Malabár, he found the trade exclusively in the hands of the Moors, and it was to their rivalry that he and his successors owed most of the opposition they encountered.

**Exports in ancient times.**

The exports from India to the West do not seem, at the time of the "Periplus," to have been very different from what they are now: cotton cloth, muslin, and chintz of various kinds; silk cloth

* See, in particular, *Marsden's Marco Polo*, p. 687.

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and thread; indigo and other dies; cinnamon and other spices; sugar; diamonds, pearls, emeralds, and many inferior stones; steel; drugs; aromatics; and, sometimes, female slaves.

Imports.

The imports were — coarse and fine cloth (probably woollen); brass; tin; lead; coral; glass; antimony; some few perfumes not known in the country; wines (of which that from Italy was preferred); together with a considerable quantity of specie and bullion.

Inland trade.

The great facility of transport afforded by the Ganges and its numerous branches has been alluded to; but, as few of the other rivers are navigable far from the sea, the internal trade must always have been mostly carried on by land. Oxen would be the principal means of conveyance; but as, from the earliest Hindú times to the decline of the Mogul empire, the great roads were objects of much attention to the government, we may, perhaps, presume that carts were much more in use formerly than of later years.

# CHAP. XI.

## MANNERS AND CHARACTER.

CHAP. XI.

Difference of Indian nations.

It has been stated that Hindostan and the Deckan are equal, in extent, to all Europe; except the Russian part of it, and the countries north of the Baltic.*

Ten different civilised nations are found within the above space. All these nations differ from each other, in manners and language†, nearly as much as those inhabiting the corresponding portion of Europe.

They have, also, about the same degree of general resemblance which is observable among the nations of Christendom, and which is so great that a stranger from India cannot, at first, perceive any material difference between an Italian and an Englishman. In like manner Europeans do not at once distinguish between the most dissimilar of the nations of India.

The greatest difference is between the inhabitants of Hindostan proper, and of the Deckan.

The neighbouring parts of these two great divisions naturally resemble each other; but in the extremities of the north and south the languages

* Introduction, p. 6. note. † See pp. 278, 279.

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have no resemblance, except from a common mixture of Shanscrit; the religious sects are different; the architecture, as has been mentioned elsewhere, is of different characters; the dress differs in many respects, and the people differ in appearance; those of the north being tall and fair, and the others small and dark. The northern people live much on wheat, and those of the south on rági, a grain almost as unknown in Hindostan as in England.* Many of the points of difference arise from the unequal degrees in which the two tracts were conquered and occupied: first, by the people professing the Braminical religion, and afterwards by the Mussulmans; but more must depend on peculiarities of place and climate, and, perhaps, on varieties of race. Bengal and Gangetic Hindostan, for instance, are contiguous countries, and were both early subjected to the same governments; but Bengal is moist, liable to inundation, and has all the characteristics of an alluvial soil; while Hindostan, though fertile, is comparatively dry, both in soil and climate. This difference may, by forming a diversity of habits, have led to a great dissimilitude between the people: the common origin of the languages appears, in this case, to forbid all suspicion of a difference of race.

From whatever causes it originates, the contrast is most striking. The Hindostanis on the Ganges are the tallest, fairest, and most warlike and manly of the Indians; they wear the turban, and a dress

* Cynosurus Coracanus.

resembling that of the Mahometans; their houses are tiled, and built in compact villages in open tracts; their food is unleavened wheaten bread.

The Bengalese, on the contrary, though good-looking, are small, black, and effeminate in appearance; remarkable for timidity and superstition, as well as for subtlety and art. Their villages are composed of thatched cottages, scattered through woods of bamboos or of palms: their dress is the old Hindú one, formed by one scarf round the middle and another thrown over the shoulders. They have the practice, unknown in Hindostan, of rubbing their limbs with oil after bathing, which gives their skins a sleek and glossy appearance, and protects them from the effect of their damp climate. They live almost entirely on rice; and, although the two idioms are more nearly allied than English and German, their language is quite unintelligible to a native of Hindostan.

Yet those two nations resemble each other so much in their religion and all the innumerable points of habit and manners which it involves, in their literature, their notions on government and general subjects, their ceremonies and way of life, that a European, not previously apprised of the distinction, might very possibly pass the boundary that divides them, without at once perceiving the change that had taken place.

The distinction between the different nations will appear as each comes on the stage in the

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course of the following history. All that has hitherto been said, and all that is about to follow, is intended to apply to the whole Hindú people.

Villages.

Notwithstanding the abundance of large towns in India, the great majority of the population is agricultural. The peasants live assembled in villages; going out to their fields to labour, and returning, with their cattle, to the village at night.

Villages vary much in different parts of the country: in many parts they are walled, and capable of a short defence against the light troops of a hostile army; and, in some disturbed tracts, even against their neighbours, and against the government officers: others are open; and others only closed by a fence and gate, to keep in the cattle at night.

The houses of a Bengal and Hindostan village have been contrasted. The cottage of Bengal, with its trim curved thatched roof and cane walls, is the best looking in India.

Those of Hindostan are tiled, and built of clay or unburnt bricks; and, though equally convenient, have less neatness of appearance. The mud or stone huts and terraced roofs of the Deckan village look as if they were mere uncovered ruins, and are the least pleasing to the eye of any. Further south, though the material is the same, the execution is much better; and the walls, being painted in broad perpendicular streaks of white and red, have an appearance of neatness and cleanness.

Each village has its bázár, composed of shops for

the sale of grain, tobacco, sweetmeats, coarse cloth, and other articles of village consumption. Each has its market day, and its annual fairs and festivals; and each, in most parts of India, has, at least, one temple, and one house or shed for lodging strangers. All villages make an allowance for giving food or charity to religious mendicants, and levy a fund for this and other expenses, including public festivities on particular holidays. The house for strangers sometimes contains also the shrine of a god, and is generally used as the town house; though there are usually some shady trees in every village, under which the heads of the village and others meet to transact their business. No benches or tables are required on any occasion.

Habits of villagers.

In houses, also, there is no furniture but a mat for sitting on, and some earthen and brass pots and dishes, a hand-mill, pestle and mortar, an iron plate for baking cakes on, and some such articles. The bed, which requires neither bedding nor curtains, is set upright against the wall during the day; and cooking is carried on under a shed, or out of doors. The huts, though bare, are clean and neat.

There is scarcely more furniture in the houses of the richer inhabitants of the village. Their distinction is, that they are two stories high, and have a court-yard.

The condition of the country people is not, in general, prosperous. They usually borrow money to pay their rent, and consequently get involved in accounts and debts, through which, they are so liable

to imposition, that they can scarcely get extricated. They are also, in general, so improvident, that if they were clear, they would omit to lay up money for their necessary payments, and soon be in debt again. Some, however, are prudent, and acquire property. Their villages are sometimes disturbed by factions against the headman, or by oppression on his part, or that of the government; and they have more litigation among themselves than the same class in England; but violence of all sorts is extremely rare, drunkenness scarcely known, and, on the whole, the country people are remarkably quiet, well-behaved, and, for their circumstances, happy and contented.

The husbandman rises with the earliest dawn; washes, and says a prayer; then sets out with his cattle to his distant field. After an hour or two, he eats some remnants of his yesterday's fare for breakfast, and goes on with his labour till noon, when his wife brings out his hot dinner; he eats it by a brook or under a tree, talks and sleeps till two o'clock, while his cattle also feed and repose. From two till sunset he labours again; then drives his cattle home, feeds them, bathes, eats some supper, smokes, and spends the rest of the evening in amusement with his wife and children, or his neighbours. The women fetch water, grind the corn, cook, and do the household work, besides spinning, and such occupations.

Towns.

Hindú towns are formed of high brick or stone houses, with a few small and high-placed windows,

over very narrow streets, which are paved (if paved at all) with large uneven slabs of stone. They are crowded with people moving to and fro; processions, palankeens, and carriages drawn by oxen; running footmen with sword and buckler, religious mendicants, soldiers out of service smoking or lounging; and sacred bulls, that can scarcely be made to move their unwieldy bulk out of the way of the passenger, or to desist from feeding on the grain exposed for sale.

The most conspicuous shops are those of confectioners, fruiterers, grainsellers, braziers, druggists, and tobacconists; sellers of cloth, shawls, and other stuffs, keep their goods in bales; and those of more precious articles do not expose them. They are quite open towards the street, and often are merely the veranda in front of the house; the customers standing and making their purchases in the street.

Towns are often walled, and capable of defence.

They have not hereditary headmen and officers, like villages, but are generally the residence of the government agent in charge of the district, who manages them, with the help of an establishment for police and revenue. They are divided into wards for the purposes of police; and each cast has its own elected head, who communicates between the government and its members. These casts, being in general trades also, are attended with all the good and bad consequences of such combinations.

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The principal inhabitants are bankers and merchants, and people connected with the government.

Bankers and merchants generally combine both trades, and farm the public revenues besides. They make great profits, and often without much risk. In transactions with governments they frequently secure a mortgage on the revenue, or the guarantee of some powerful person, for the discharge of their debt. They lend money on an immense premium, and with very high compound interest, which increases so rapidly, that the repayment is always a compromise, in which the lender gives up a great part of his demand, still retaining an ample profit. They live plainly and frugally, but often spend vast sums on domestic festivals or public works.

The great men about the government will be spoken of hereafter, but the innumerable clerks and hangers on in lower stations must not be passed over without mention. Not only has every office numbers of these men, but every department, however small, must have one: a company of soldiers would not be complete without its clerk. Every nobleman (besides those employed in collections and accounts) has clerks of the kitchen, of the stable, the hawking establishment, &c. Intercourse of business and civility is carried on through these people, who also furnish the newswriters; and, after all, great numbers are unemployed, and are ready agents in every sort of plot and intrigue.

Food, and manner of

The food of the common people, both in the

eating, of all classes.

country and in towns, is unleavened bread with boiled vegetables, clarified butter or oil, and spices. Smoking tobacco is almost the only luxury. Some few smoke intoxicating drugs; and the lowest casts alone, and even they rarely, get drunk with spirits. Drunkenness is confined to damp countries, such as Bengal, the Concans, and some parts of the south of India. It increases in our territories, where spirits are taxed; but is so little of a natural propensity, that the absolute prohibition of spirits, which exists in most native states, is sufficient to keep it down. Opium, which is used to great excess in the west of Hindostan, is peculiar to the Rájpúts, and does not affect the lower classes. All but the poorest people chew bítel (a pungent aromatic leaf) with the hard nut of the áreca, mixed with a sort of lime made from shells, and with various spices, according to the person's means. Some kinds of fruit are cheap and common.

The upper classes, at least the Bramin part of them, have very little more variety; it consists in the greater number of kinds of vegetables and spices, and in the cookery. Assafœtida is a favourite ingredient, as giving to some of their richer dishes something of the flavour of flesh. The caution used against eating out of dishes or on carpets defiled by other casts gives rise to some curious customs. At a great Bramin dinner, where twenty or thirty different dishes and condiments are placed before each individual, all are served in vessels made of leaves sewed together. These are placed

on the bare floor, which, as a substitute for a table cloth, is decorated for a certain distance in front of the guests, with patterns of flowers, &c., very prettily laid out in lively-coloured sorts of sand, spread through frames in which the patterns are cut, and swept away after the dinner. The inferior casts of Hindús eat meat, and care less about their vessels; metal, especially, can always be purified by scouring. In all classes, however, the difference of cast leads to a want of sociability. A soldier, or any one away from his family, cooks his solitary meal for himself, and finishes it without a companion, or any of the pleasures of the table, but those derived from taking the necessary supply of food. All eat with their fingers, and scrupulously wash before and after meals.

In-door amusements.

Though they have chess, a game played with tables and dice as backgammon is, and cards, (which are circular, in many suits, and painted with Hindú gods, &c., instead of kings, queens, and knaves,) yet the great in-door amusement is to listen to singing interspersed with slow movements which can scarcely be called dancing. The attitudes are not ungraceful, and the songs, as has been mentioned, are pleasing; but it is, after all, a languid and monotonous entertainment; and it is astonishing to see the delight that all ranks take in it; the lower orders, in particular, often *standing* for whole nights to enjoy this unvaried amusement.

These exhibitions are now often illuminated,

when in rooms, by English chandeliers; but the true Hindú way of lighting them up is by torches held by men, who feed the flame with oil from a sort of bottle constructed for the purpose. For ordinary household purposes they use lamps of earthenware or metal.

**Houses, ceremonial, and conversation of the upper classes.**

In the houses of the rich, the doorways are hung with quilted silk curtains; and the doors, the arches, and other wood-work in the rooms are highly carved. The floor is entirely covered with a thin mattress of cotton, over which is spread a clean white cloth to sit on; but there is no other furniture of any description. Equals sit in opposite rows down the room. A prince or great chief has a seat at the head of the room between the rows, very slightly raised by an additional mattress, and covered with a small carpet of embroidered silk. This, with a high round embroidered bolster behind, forms what is called a masnad or gádi, and serves as a throne for sovereigns under the rank of king.

Great attention is paid to ceremony. A person of distinction is met a mile or two before he enters the city; and a visitor is received (according to his rank) at the outer gate of the house, at the door of the room, or by merely rising from the seat. Friends embrace if they have not met for some time. Bramins are saluted by joining the palms, and raising them twice or thrice to the forehead: with others, the salute with one hand is used, so well known by the Mahometan name of

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sálám. Bramins have a peculiar phrase of salutation for each other. Other Hindús, on meeting, repeat twice the name of the god Ráma. Visitors are seated with strict attention to their rank, which, on public occasions, it often takes much previous negotiation to settle. Hindús of rank are remarkable for their politeness to inferiors, generally addressing them by some civil or familiar term, and scarcely ever being provoked to abusive or harsh language.

The lower classes are courteous in their general manners among themselves, but by no means so scrupulous in their language when irritated.

All visits end by the master of the house presenting bítel leaf with áreca nut, &c. to the guest: it is accompanied by attar of roses or some other perfume put on the handkerchief, and rose-water sprinkled over the person; and this is the signal for taking leave.

At first meetings, and at entertainments, trays of shawls and other materials for dresses are presented to the guests, together with pearl necklaces, bracelets, and ornaments for the turban of jewels: a sword, a horse, and an elephant are added when both parties are men of high rank. I do not know how much of this custom is ancient, but presents of bracelets, &c. are frequent in the oldest dramas.

Such presents are also given to meritorious servants, to soldiers who have distinguished themselves, and to poets or learned men: they are showered on favourite singers and dancers.

At formal meetings nobody speaks but the principal persons, but in other companies there is a great deal of unrestrained conversation. The manner of the Hindús is polite, and their language obsequious. They abound in compliments and expressions of humility even to their equals, and when they have no object to gain. They seldom show much desire of knowledge, or disposition to extend their thoughts beyond their ordinary habits. Within that sphere, however, their conversation is shrewd and intelligent, often mixed with lively and satirical observations.

The rich rise at the same hour as the common people, or, perhaps, not quite so early; perform their devotions in their own chapels; despatch private and other business with their immediate officers and dependants; bathe, dine, and sleep. At two or three they dress, and appear in their public apartments, where they receive visits and transact business till very late at night. Some also listen to music till late: but these occupations are confined to the rich, and, in general, a Hindú town is all quiet soon after dark.

Entertainments and pomp of the rich.

Entertainments, besides occasions of rare occurrence, as marriages, &c., are given on particular festivals, and sometimes to show attention to particular friends. Among themselves they commence with a dinner; but the essential part of the entertainment is dancing and singing, sometimes diversified with jugglers and buffoons; during which time perfumes are burnt, and the guests are dressed

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with garlands of sweet-smelling flowers: presents, as above described, are no less essential.

At courts there are certain days on which all the great and all public officers wait on the prince to pay their duty; and, on those occasions, the crowd in attendance is equal to that of a birthday levee in Europe.

All go up to the prince in succession, and present him with a nazzer, which is one or more pieces of money laid on a napkin, and which it is usual to offer to superiors on all formal meetings. The amount depends on the rank of the offerer; the lowest in general is a rupee, yet poor people sometimes present a flower, and shopkeepers often some article of their traffic or manufacture. A dress of some sort is, on most occasions, given in return. The price of one dress is equal to many nazzers. The highest regular nazzer is 100 ashrefis, equal to 150 or 170 guineas; but people have been known to present jewels of high value; and it is by no means uncommon, when a prince visits a person of inferior rank, to construct a low base for his masnad of bags containing in all 100,000 rupees (or 10,000*l.*), which are all considered part of the nazzer. So much is that a form, that it has been done when the Nizám visited the resident at Hyderábád, though that prince was little more than a dependant on our government. I mention this as a general custom at present, though not sure that it is originally Hindú.

The religious festivals are of a less doubtful cha-

racter. In them a great hall is fitted up in honour of the deity of the day. His image, richly adorned, and surrounded by gilded ballustrades, occupies the centre of one end of the apartment, while the prince and his court, in splendid dresses and jewels, are arranged along one side of the room as guests or attendants. The rest of the ceremony is like other entertainments. The songs may, perhaps, be appropriate; but the incense, the chaplets of flowers, and other presents are as on ordinary occasions: the bítel leaf and attar, indeed, are brought from before the idol, and distributed as if from him to his visitors.

Among the most striking of these religious exhibitions is that of the capture of Lanka, in honour of Ráma, which is necessarily performed out of doors.

Lanka is represented by a spacious castle with towers and battlements, which are assailed by an army dressed like Ráma and his followers, with Hanumán and his monkey allies. The combat ends in the destruction of Lanka, amidst a blaze of fireworks which would excite admiration in any part of the world, and in a triumphal procession sometimes conducted in a style of grandeur which might become a more important occasion.

This festival is celebrated in another manner, and with still greater splendor, among the Marattas. It is the day on which they always commence their military operations; and the particular event which they commemorate is Ráma's devotions and his

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plucking a branch from a certain tree, before he set out on his expedition.

A tree of this sort is planted in an open plain near the camp or city; and all the infantry and guns, and as many of the cavalry as do not accompany the prince, are drawn up on each side of the spot, or form a wide street leading up to it. The rest of the plain is filled with innumerable spectators. The procession, though less regular than those of Mahometan princes, is one of the finest displays of the sort in India. The chief advances on his elephant, preceded by flags and gold and silver sticks or maces, and by a phalanx of men on foot bearing pikes of fifteen or sixteen feet long. On each side are his nobles and military leaders on horseback, with sumptuous dresses and caparisons, and each with some attendants selected for their martial appearance; behind are long trains of elephants with their sweeping housings, some with flags of immense size, and glittering with gold and embroidery; some bearing howdahs, open or roofed, often of silver, plain or gilt, and of forms peculiarly oriental: around and behind is a cloud of horsemen, their trappings glancing in the sun, and their scarfs of cloth of gold fluttering in the wind, all overtopped by sloping spears and waving banners; those on the flanks dashing out, and returning after displaying some evolutions of horsemanship: the whole moving, mixing, and continually shifting its form as it advances, and presenting one of the most animating and most

gorgeous spectacles that is ever seen, even in that land of barbarous magnificence. As the chief approaches, the guns are fired, the infantry discharge their pieces, and the procession moves on with accelerated speed, exhibiting a lively picture of an attack by a great body of cavalry on an army drawn up to receive them.

When the prince has performed his devotions and plucked his bough, his example is followed by those around him: a fresh salvo of all the guns is fired; and, at the signal, the other troops break off, and each man snatches some leaves from one of the fields of tall grain which is grown for the purpose near the spot: each sticks his prize in his turban, and all exchange compliments and congratulations. A grand darbár, at which all the court and military officers attend, closes the day.

Fairs, pilgrimages, &c.

There is less grandeur, but scarcely less interest, in the fairs and festivals of the common people. These have a strong resemblance to fairs in England, and exhibit the same whirling machines, and the same amusements and occupations. But no assemblage in England can give a notion of the lively effect produced by the prodigious concourse of people in white dresses and bright coloured scarfs and turbans, so unlike the black head-dresses and dusky habits of the north. Their taste for gaudy shows and processions, and the mixture of arms and flags, give also a different character to the Indian fairs. The Hindús enter into the amusements of these meetings with the utmost relish,

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and show every sign of peaceful festivity and enjoyment. They may, on all these occasions, have some religious ceremony to go through, but it does not take up a moment, and seldom occupies a thought. At the pilgrimages, indeed, the long anticipation of the worship to be performed, the example of other pilgrims invoking the god aloud, and the sanctity of the place, concur to produce stronger feelings of devotion. There are also more ceremonies to be gone through, and sometimes these are joined in by the whole assembly; when the thousands of eyes directed to one point, and of voices shouting one name, is often impressive even to the least interested spectator.

But, even at pilgrimages, the feeling of amusement is much stronger than that of religious zeal; and many such places are also among the most celebrated marts for the transfer of merchandise, and for all the purposes of a fair.

Gardens, and natural scenery.

Among the enjoyments of the upper classes, I should not omit their gardens, which, though always formal, are nevertheless often pleasing. They are divided by broad alleys, with long and narrow ponds or canals inclosed with regular stone and stucco work running up the centre, and, on each side, straight walks between borders of poppies of all colours, or of other flowers in uniform beds or in patterns. Their summer houses are of white stucco, and though somewhat less heavy and inelegant than their ordinary dwellings, do not much relieve the formality of the garden: but there is

still something rich and oriental in the groves of orange and citron trees, the mixture of dark cypresses with trees covered with flowers or blossoms, the tall and graceful palms, the golden fruits and highly scented flowers. In the heats of summer, too, the trellised walks, closely covered with vines, and the slender stems and impervious shade of the áreca tree, afford dark and cool retreats from the intolerable glare of the sun, made still more pleasant by the gushing of the little rills that water the garden, and by the profound silence and repose that reign in that overpowering hour.

I have great doubts whether the present kind of gardens has not been introduced by the Mussulmans, especially as I remember no description in the poets that are translated which suggests this sort of formality.

The flowers and trees of Indian gardens are neither collected with the industry, nor improved with the care, of those in Europe; and it is amidst the natural scenery that we see both in the greatest perfection. The country is often scattered with old mangoe trees and lofty tamarinds and pípals, which, in Guzerát especially, are accompanied with undulations of the ground that give to extensive tracts the varied beauties of an English park. In other parts, as in Róhilcand, a perfectly flat and incredibly fertile plain is scattered with mangoe orchards, and delights us with its extent and prosperity, until at last it wearies with its monotony. In some parts of Bengal the traveller enters on a

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similar flat covered with one sheet of rice, but without a tree, except at a distance on every side, where appears a thick bamboo jungle, such as might be expected to harbour wild beasts. When this jungle is reached, it proves to be a narrow belt filled with villages and teeming with population; and when it is passed, another bare flat succeeds, again encircled with bamboo jungle almost at the extremity of the horizon.

The central part of the Deckan is composed of waving downs, which at one time present, for hundreds of miles, one unbroken sheet of green harvests, high enough to conceal a man and horse*, but in the hot season bear the appearance of a desert, naked and brown, without a tree or a shrub to relieve its gloomy sameness. In many places, especially in the west, are woods of old trees filled with scented creepers, some bearing flowers of the most splendid colours, and others twining among the branches, or stretching boldly from tree to tree, with stems as thick as a man's thigh. The forests in the east† and the centre of India‡, and near one part of the western Ghâts§, are composed of trees of prodigious magnitude, almost undisturbed by habitations, and imperfectly traversed by narrow roads, like the wildest parts of America.

* Of bájri (Holcus spicatus) and juár (Holcus sorghum).

† The sál forests near the mountains.

‡ The forest that fills the country from Nágpúr to Bengal, and from Bundélcand to the northern Circars.

§ Malabár, &c.

In the midst of the best cultivated country are often found spaces of several days' journey across covered with the palás or dák tree, which in spring loses all its leaves and is entirely covered with large red and orange flowers, which make the whole of the hills seem in a blaze.

The noblest scenery in India is under Hémaláya, where the ridges are broken into every form of the picturesque, with abrupt rocks, mossy banks, and slopes covered with gigantic pines and other trees on the same vast scale, mixed with the most beautiful of our flowering shrubs and the best of our fruits in their state of nature. Over the whole towers the majestic chain of Hémaláya covered with eternal snow; a sight which the soberest traveller has never described without kindling into enthusiasm, and which, if once seen, leaves an impression that can never be equalled or effaced. The western Gháts present the charms of mountain scenery on a smaller scale; but it is no exaggeration of their merits to say that they strongly resemble the valleys of the Neda and the Ladon, which have long been the boast of Arcadia and of Europe.

The beauty of the Gháts, however, depends entirely on the season when they are seen; in summer, when stripped of their clouds and deprived of their rich carpet of verdure and their innumerable cascades, the height of the mountains is not sufficient to compensate by its grandeur for their general sterility, and the only pleasure they afford is

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derived from the stately forests which still clothe their sides.

Manner of life of the towns-people, and festivals of all classes.

The day of the poor in towns is spent much like that of the villagers, except that they go to their shop instead of the field, and to the bázár for amusement and society. The villagers have some active games; but the out of door amusements of the townspeople are confined to those at fairs and festivals; some also perform their complicated system of athletic exercise, and practise wrestling; but there are certain seasons which have their appropriate sports, in which all descriptions of people eagerly join.

Perhaps the chief of these is the hóli, a festival in honour of the spring, at which the common people, especially the boys, dance round fires, sing licentious and satirical songs, and give vent to all sorts of ribaldry against their superiors, by whom it is always taken in good part. The great sport of the occasion, however, consists in sprinkling each other with a yellow liquid, and throwing a crimson powder over each other's persons. The liquid is also squirted through syringes, and the powder is sometimes made up in large balls covered with isinglass, which break as soon as they come in contact with the body. All ranks engage in this sport with enthusiasm, and get more and more into the spirit of the contest, till all parties are completely drenched with the liquid, and so covered with the red powder, that they can scarcely be recognised.

A grave prime minister will invite a foreign ambassador to play the hóli at his house, and will take his share in the most riotous parts of it with the ardour of a schoolboy.

There are many other festivals of a less marked character; some general, and some local. Of the latter description is the custom among the Marattas of inviting each other to eat the toasted grain of the bájri (or Holcus spicatus) when the ear first begins to fill. This is a natural luxury among villagers; but the custom extends to the great: the rája of Berár, for instance, invites all the principal people of his court, on a succession of days, to this fare, when toasted grain is first served, and is followed by a regular banquet.

The díwáli is a general festival, on which every house and temple is illuminated with rows of little lamps along the roofs, windows, and cornices, and on bamboo frames erected for the purpose.

Benáres, seen from the Ganges, used to be very magnificent on this occasion. During the whole of the month in which this feast occurs, lamps are hung up on bamboos, at different villages and private houses, so high as often to make the spectator mistake them for stars low in the horizon.

The jannam ashtomi is a festival at which a sort of opera is performed by boys dressed like Crishna and his shepherdesses, who perform appropriate dances and sing songs in character.

**Exercises.** The military men (that is, all the upper class not engaged in religion or commerce,) are fond of

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hunting, running down wolves, deer, hares, &c. with dogs, which they also employ against wild boars, but depending chiefly, on these last occasions, on their own swords or spears. They shoot tigers from elephants, and sometimes attack them on horseback and on foot; even villagers sometimes turn out in a body to attack a tiger that infests their neighbourhood, and conduct themselves with great resolution. As long as a tiger does not destroy men, however, they never quarrel with him.

The military men, notwithstanding their habitual indolence, are all active and excellent horsemen. The Marattas in particular are celebrated for their management of the horse and lance. They all ride very short, and use tight martingales, and light but very sharp bits. Their horses are always well on their haunches, and are taught to turn suddenly when at speed, in the least possible room. They are also taught to make sudden bounds forward, by which they bring their rider on his adversary's bridle arm before he has time to counteract the manœuvre.

The skirmishers of two Indian armies mix and contend with their spears in a way that looks very like play to an European. They wheel round and round each other, and make feigned pushes apparently without any intention of coming in contact, though always nearly within reach. They are in fact straining every nerve to carry their point, but each is thrown out by the dexterous evolutions of his antagonist, until, at length, one

being struck through and knocked off his horse, first convinces the spectator that both parties were in earnest.

The Hindús are also good shots with a matchlock from a horse; but in this they are much excelled by the Mahometans.

Among other instances of activity, great men sometimes drive their own elephants; defending the seeming want of dignity, on the ground that a man should be able to guide his elephant in case his driver should be killed in battle. In early days this art was a valued accomplishment of the heroes.

Dress.

The regular dress of all Hindús is probably that which has been mentioned as used in Bengal, and which is worn by all strict Bramins. It consists of two long pieces of white cotton cloth, one of which is wrapped round the middle and tucked up between the legs, while part hangs down a good deal below the knees; the other is worn over the shoulders, and occasionally stretched over the head, which has no other covering.* The head and beard are shaved, but a long tuft of hair is left on the crown. Mustachios are also worn, except perhaps by strict Brahmins. Except in Bengal, all Hindús, who do not affect strictness, now wear the lower piece of cloth smaller and tighter, and over it a white cotton, or chintz, or silk tunic, a coloured muslin sash round the middle, and a scarf of the same material over the shoul-

* This is exactly the Hindú dress described by Arrian, *Indica*, cap. xvi.

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ders, with a turban; some wear loose drawers like the Mahometans.

The full dress is a long white gown of almost transparent muslin close over the body, but in innumerable loose folds below the waist. This, with the sash and turban, bracelets, necklaces, and other jewels and ornaments, make the dress complete. As this dress is partly borrowed from the Mahometans, and cannot be very ancient, it is singular that it should be accurately represented in some of the figures of kings on the tombs at Thebes in Egypt*, where the features, attitudes, and every thing else are, by a remarkable coincidence (for it can be nothing more), exactly what is seen in a Hindú rája of the present day.

Women.

The dress of the women is nearly the same as that first described for the men; but both the pieces of cloth are much larger and longer, and they are of various bright colours as well as white. Both sexes wear many ornaments. Men even of the lower orders wear earrings, bracelets, and necklaces. They are sometimes worn as a convenient way of keeping all the money the owner has; but the necklaces are sometimes made of a particular berry that hardens into a rough but handsome dark brown bead, and sometimes of particular kinds of wood turned; and these are mixed alternately with beads of gold or coral. The neck and legs are bare; but on going out, embroidered slip-

* Especially on the sides of one of the doors in Belzoni's cave.

pers with a long point curling up are put on, and are laid aside again on entering a room or a palankeen. Children are loaded with gold ornaments, which gives frequent temptation to child murder.

Women, under the ancient Hindús, appear to have been more reserved and retired than with us; but the complete seclusion of them has come in with the Mussulmans, and is even now confined to the military classes. The Bramins do not observe it at all. The Péshwa's consort used to walk to temples, and ride or go in an open palankeen through the streets with perfect publicity, and with a retinue becoming her rank.

Women, however, do not join in the society of men, and are not admitted to an equality with them. In the lower orders, the wife, who cooks and serves the dinner, waits till the husband has finished before she begins. When persons of different sexes walk together, the woman always follows the man, even when there is no obstacle to their walking abreast. Striking a woman is not so disgraceful with the lower orders as with us. But, in spite of the low place systematically assigned to them, natural affection and reason restore them to their rights: their husbands confide in them, and consult with them on their affairs, and are as often subject to their ascendancy as in any other country.

Slavery.

Another reproach to Hindú civilization, though more real than that just mentioned, falls very short of the idea it at first sight suggests. Domestic slavery in a mild form is almost universal. The

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slaves are home-born, or children sold by their parents during famine, and sometimes children kidnapped by Banjáras, a tribe of wandering herdsmen, who gain their subsistence by conveying grain and merchandise from one part of the country to another. Such a crime is, of course, liable to punishment; but from its being only occasionally practised, it is even more difficult to detect than slave trading among ourselves.

Domestic slaves are treated exactly like servants, except that they are more regarded as belonging to the family. I doubt if they are ever sold; and they attract little observation, as there is nothing apparent to distinguish them from freemen. But slavery is nowhere exempted from its curse. The female children kidnapped are often sold to keepers of brothels to be brought up for public prostitution, and in other cases are exposed to the passions of their masters and the jealous cruelty of their mistresses.

In some parts of India slaves are not confined to the great and rich, but are found even in the families of cultivators, where they are treated exactly like the other members. Among the ancient Hindús it will have been observed, from Menu, that there were no slaves attached to the soil. As the Hindús spread to the south, however, they appear in some places to have found, or to have established, prædial servitude. In some forest tracts there are slaves attached to the soil, but in so loose a way, that they are entitled to wages, and, in fact,

are under little restraint. In the south of India they are attached to and sold with the land; and in Malabár (where they seem in the most abject condition), even without the land. The number in Malabár and the extreme south is guessed at different amounts, from 100,000 to 400,000. They exist also in some parts of Bengal and Behár, and in hilly tracts like those in the south-east of Guzerát. Their proportion to the people of India is however insignificant; and in most parts of that country the very name of prædial slavery is unknown.

Ceremonies of marriage.

Marriages are performed with many ceremonies, few of which are interesting: among them are joining the hands of the bride and bridegroom, and tying them together with a blade of sacred grass; but the essential part of the ceremony is when the bride steps seven steps, a particular text being repeated for each. When the seventh step is taken, the marriage is indissoluble.* This is the only form of marriage now allowed, the other seven being obsolete.†

The prohibition, so often repeated in Menu, against the receipt by the bride's father of any present from the bridegroom, is now more strictly observed than it was in his time. The point of honour in this respect is carried so far, that it is reckoned disgraceful to receive any assistance in after life from a son-in-law or brother-in-law. It is indispensable that the bridegroom should come to

* Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. pp. 303. 309.

† Ibid. p. 311.

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the house of the father-in-law to sue for the bride, and the marriage must also be performed there.

At the visit of the suitor, the ancient modes of hospitality are maintained according to a prescribed form. The sort of entertainment still appears in the production of a cow to be killed for the feast; but the suitor now intercedes for her life, and she is turned loose at his request.*

In the case of princes, where the bride comes from another country, a temporary building is erected with great magnificence and expense, as a house for the bride's father; and in all cases the procession in which the bride is taken home after the marriage is as showy as the parties can afford.

In Bengal these processions are particularly sumptuous, and marriages there have been known to cost lacs of rupees.† The parties are generally children; the bride must always be under the age of puberty, and both are usually under ten. These premature marriages, instead of producing attachment, often cause early and lasting disagreements.

Education.

Hindú parents are remarkable for their affection for their children while they are young; but they not unfrequently have disputes with grown up sons, the source of which probably lies in the legal restrictions on the father's control over his property.

* Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. pp. 288, 289. So uniform was the practice of sacrificing a cow for the entertainment of a visitor, that goghna (cow-killer) is a Shanscrit term for a guest.

† Ward, vol. i. p. 170.

Boys of family are brought into company dressed like men (with little swords, &c.), and behave with all the propriety, and almost all the formality, of grown up people.

The children of the common people sprawl about the streets, pelt each other with dust, and are less restrained even than children in England. At this age they are generally very handsome.

The education of the common people does not extend beyond writing and the elements of arithmetic. There are schools in all towns, and in some villages, paid by small fees; the expense for each boy in the south of India is estimated at from 15*s.* to 16*s.* a-year*; but it must be very much less in other places. In Bengal and Behár the fee is often only a small portion of grain or uncooked vegetables.†

They are taught, with the aid of monitors, in the manner introduced from Madras into England.

The number of children educated at public schools under the Madras presidency (according to an estimate of Sir T. Munro) is less than one in three; but, low as it is, he justly remarks, this is a higher rate than existed, till very lately, in most countries in Europe. It is probable that the proportion under the other presidencies is not greater than under Madras. I should doubt, indeed, whether the average was not a good deal too

* Captain Harkness, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. I. p. 19.

† Mr. Adams's Report on Education (Calcutta, 1838).

high. Women are every where almost entirely uneducated.

People in good circumstances seldom send their children to school, but have them taught at home, by Bramins retained for the purpose. The higher branches of learning are taught gratuitously; the teachers maintaining themselves, and often a portion of their scholars, by means of presents received from princes and opulent individuals.

There is now no learning, except among the Bramins, and with them it is at a low ebb.

The remains of ancient literature sufficiently show the far higher pitch to which it had attained in former times. There is no such proof of the greater *diffusion* of knowledge in those days; but when three of the four classes were encouraged to read the Védas, it is probable that they were more generally well informed than now.

Names.

More must be said of Indian names than the intrinsic importance of the subject deserves, to obviate the difficulty of recognising individuals named in different histories.

Few of the Hindú nations have family names. The Marattas have them exactly as in Europe. The Rájpúts have names of clans or tribes, but too extensive completely to supply the place of family names; and the same is the case with the Bramins of the north of India.

In the south of India it is usual to prefix the name of the city or place of which the person is an inhabitant to his proper name, (as Carpa

Candi Ráo, Candi Ráo of Carpa, or Caddapa.) * The most general practice on formal occasions is that common in most parts of Asia, of adding the father's name to that of the son; but this practice may, perhaps, have been borrowed from the Mussulmans.

An European reader might be led to call a person indifferently by either of his names, or to take the first or last for shortness; but the first might be the name of a town, and the last the name of the person's father, or of his cast, and not his own.

Another difficulty arises, chiefly among the Mahometans, from their frequent change of title; as is the case with our own nobility.

Funerals.

The Hindús in general burn their dead, but men of the religious orders are buried in a sitting posture cross-legged. A dying man is laid out of doors, on a bed of sacred grass. Hymns and prayers are recited to him, and leaves of the holy basil scattered over him. If near the Ganges, he is, if possible, carried to the side of that river. It is said that persons so carried to the river, if they recover, do not return to their families; and there are certainly villages on the Ganges which are pointed out as being entirely inhabited by such people and their descendants; but the existence of such a custom is denied by those likely to be best informed; and the story has probably originated in some misconception. After death,

* Men's offices also often afford a distinguishing appellation.

the body is bathed, perfumed, decked with flowers, and immediately carried out to the pyre. It is enjoined to be preceded by music, which is still observed in the south of India. There, also, the corpse is exposed on a bed with the face painted with crimson powder. In other parts, on the contrary, the body is carefully covered up. Except in the south, the corpse is carried without music, but with short exclamations of sorrow from the attendants.

The funeral pile for an ordinary person is not above four or five feet high; it is decorated with flowers, and clarified butter and scented oils are poured upon the flames. The pyre is lighted by a relation, after many ceremonies and oblations; and the relations, after other observances, purify themselves in a stream, and sit down on a bank to wait the progress of the fire. They present a melancholy spectacle on such occasions, wrapped up in their wet garments, and looking sorrowfully on the pyre. Neither the wet dress nor the sorrow is required by their religion: on the contrary, they are enjoined to alleviate their grief by repeating certain verses, and to refrain from tears and lamentations.*

* The following are among the verses: —

"Foolish is he who seeks permanence in the human state, unsolid like the stem of the plantain tree, transient like the foam of the sea."

"All that is low must finally perish; all that is elevated must ultimately fall."

"Unwillingly do the Manes taste the tears and rheum shed

The Hindús seldom erect tombs, except to men who fall in battle, or widows who burn with their husbands. Their tombs resemble small square altars.

The obsequies performed periodically to the dead have been fully explained in another place.* I may mention here the prodigious expense sometimes incurred on those occasions. A Hindú family in Calcutta were stated in the newspapers for June, 1824, to have expended, besides numerous and most costly gifts to distinguished Bramins, the immense sum of 500,000 rupees (50,000*l.*) in alms to the poor, including, I suppose, 20,000 rupees, which it is mentioned that they paid to release debtors.†

Sattis.

It is well known that Indian widows sometimes sacrifice themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands, and that such victims are called Sattis. The period at which this barbarous custom was introduced is uncertain. It is not alluded to by Menu, who treats of the conduct proper for faithful and devoted widows, as if there were no doubt about their surviving their husbands.‡ It is thought by some to have been recognised in ancient authorities, particularly in the Rig Véda; but others deny this con-

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by their kinsmen: then do not wail, but diligently perform the obsequies of the dead." — Colebrooke, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 244.

* Book I. p. 80.

† Quarterly Oriental Mazagine for September, 1824, p. 23.

‡ Book V. 156, &c.

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struction of the text.* It certainly is of great antiquity, as an instance is described by Diodorus (who wrote before the birth of Christ), and is stated to have occurred in the army of Eumenes upwards of 300 years before our æra.† The claim of the elder wife to preference over the younger, the Indian law against the burning of pregnant women, and other similar circumstances mentioned in his narrative, are too consistent with Hindú institutions, and the ceremonies are too correctly described, to leave the least doubt that Diodorus's account is authentic, and that the custom was as fully, though probably not so extensively, established in the time of Eumenes as at present.

The practice is ascribed by Diodorus, as it still is by our missionaries, to the degraded condition to which a woman who outlives her husband is condemned. If the motive were one of so general an influence, the practice would scarcely be so rare. It is more probable that the hopes of immediately entering on the enjoyment of heaven, and of entitling the husband to the same felicity, as well as the glory attending such a voluntary sacrifice, are sufficient to excite the few enthusiastic spirits who go through this awful trial.

It has been said that the relations encourage self-

* See Translations by Rája Rám Móhan Roy, pp. 200—266. See also Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iv. p. 205., and Professor Wilson, *Oxford Lectures*, p. 19.

† Diodorus Siculus, lib. xix. cap. ii. The custom is also mentioned, but much less distinctly, by Strabo, on the authority of Aristobulus and Onesicritus.

immolation for the purpose of obtaining the property of the widow. It would be judging too harshly of human nature to think such conduct frequent, even in proportion to the number of cases where the widow has property to leave; and, in fact, it may be confidently relied on, that the relations are almost in all, if not in all cases, sincerely desirous of dissuading the sacrifice. For this purpose, in addition to their own entreaties, and those of the infant children, when there are such, they procure the intervention of friends of the family, and of persons in authority. If the case be in a family of high rank, the sovereign himself goes to console and dissuade the widow. It is reckoned a bad omen for a government to have many Sattis. One common expedient is, to engage the widow's attention by such visits, while the body is removed and burnt.

The mode of concremation is various: in Bengal, the living and dead bodies are stretched on a pile where strong ropes and bamboos are thrown across them so as to prevent any attempt to rise. In Orissa, the woman throws herself into the pyre, which is below the level of the ground. In the Deckan, the woman sits down on the pyre with her husband's head in her lap, and remains there till suffocated, or crushed by the fall of a heavy roof of logs of wood, which is fixed by cords to posts at the corners of the pile.

The sight of a widow burning is a most painful one; but it is hard to say whether the spectator is

most affected by pity or admiration. The more than human serenity of the victim, and the respect which she receives from those around her, are heightened by her gentle demeanour, and her care to omit nothing in distributing her last presents, and paying the usual marks of courtesy to the bystanders; while the cruel death that awaits her is doubly felt from her own apparent insensibility to its terrors. The reflections which succeed are of a different character, and one is humiliated to think that so feeble a being can be elevated by superstition to a self-devotion not surpassed by the noblest examples of patriots or martyrs.

I have heard that, in Guzerát, women about to burn are often stupified with opium. In most other parts this is certainly not the case. Women go through all the ceremonies with astonishing composure and presence of mind, and have been seen seated, unconfined, among the flames, apparently praying, and raising their joined hands to their heads with as little agitation as at their ordinary devotions. On the other hand, frightful instances have occurred of women bursting from amidst the flames, and being thrust back by the assistants. One of these diabolical attempts was made in Bengal, when an English gentleman happened to be among the spectators, and succeeded in preventing the accomplishment of the tragedy; but, next day, he was surprised to encounter the bitterest reproaches from the woman, for having been the occasion of her disgrace, and the obstacle

to her being then in heaven enjoying the company of her husband, and the blessings of those she had left behind.

The practice is by no means universal in India. It never occurs to the south of the river Kishna; and under the Bombay presidency, including the former sovereignty of the Bramin Péshwas, it amounts to thirty-two in a year. In the rest of the Deckan it is probably more rare. In Hindostan and Bengal it is so common, that some hundreds are officially reported as burning annually within the British dominions alone.

Self-immolation by men also is not uncommon, but it is generally performed by persons lingering under incurable disorders. It is done by leaping into fire, by burying alive, by plunging into a river, or by other modes, such as throwing one's self before the sacred car at Jagannát.

During the four years of Mr. Stirling's attendance at Jagannát, three persons perished under the car; one case he ascribed to accident, and the other two persons had long suffered under excruciating disorders.*

Hereditary thieves.

The Hindús have some peculiarities that do not admit of classification. As they have casts for all the trades, they have also casts for thieves, and men are brought up to consider robbing as their hereditary occupation. Most of the hill tribes, bordering on cultivated countries, are of this de-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. p. 324.

scription; and even throughout the plains there are casts more notorious for theft and robbery than gipsies used to be for pilfering in Europe.

In their case hereditary professions seem favourable to skill, for there are no where such dexterous thieves as in India. Travellers are full of stories of the patience, perseverance, and address with which they will steal, unperceived, through the midst of guards, and carry off their prize in the most dangerous situations. Some dig holes in the earth, and come up within the wall of a well-closed house: others, by whatever way they enter, always open a door or two to secure a retreat; and proceed to plunder, naked, smeared with oil, and armed with a dagger; so that it is as dangerous to seize them as it is difficult to hold.

One great class, called Thags, continually travel about the country assuming different disguises; an art in which they are perfect masters. Their practice is to insinuate themselves into the society of travellers whom they hear to be possessed of property, and to accompany them till they have an opportunity of administering a stupifying drug, or of throwing a noose over the neck of their unsuspecting companion. He is then murdered without blood being shed, and buried so skilfully that a long time elapses before his fate is suspected. The Thags invoke Bhawáni, and vow a portion of their spoil to her. This mixture of religion and crime might of itself be mentioned as a peculiarity; but it is paralleled by the vows of pirates and banditti

to the Madonna; and in the case of Mussulmans, who form the largest portion of the Thags, it is like the compacts with the devil, which were known in days of superstition.

It need scarcely be said that the long descent of the thievish casts gives them no claim on the sympathy of the rest of the community, who look on them as equally obnoxious to punishment, both in this world and the next, as if their ancestors had belonged to the most virtuous classes.

The hired watchmen are generally of these casts, and are faithful and efficacious. Their presence alone is a protection against their own class; and their skill and vigilance, against strangers. Guzerát is famous for one class of people of this sort, whose business it is to trace thieves by their footsteps. In a dry country a bare foot leaves little print to common eyes; but one of these people will perceive all its peculiarities so as to recognise it in all circumstances, and will pursue a robber by these vestiges for a distance that seems incredible.*

Bháts and Chárans.

In another instance, a cast seems to employ its privilege exclusively for the protection of property. These are the Bháts and Chárans, of the

* One was employed to pursue a man who had carried off the plate belonging to a regimental mess at Kaira; he tracked him to Ahmedabad, twelve or fourteen miles, lost him among the well-trodden streets of that city, but recovered his traces on reaching the opposite gate; and, though long foiled by the fugitive's running up the water of a rivulet, he at last came up with him, and recovered the property, after a chase of from twenty to thirty miles.

west of India, who are revered as bards, and in some measure as heralds, among the Rájpút tribes. In Rájpútána they conduct caravans, which are not only protected from plunder, but from legal duties. In Guzerát they carry large sums in bullion, through tracts where a strong escort would be insufficient to protect it. They are also guarantees of all agreements of chiefs among themselves, and even with the government.

Their power is derived from the sanctity of their character and their desperate resolution. If a man carrying treasure is approached, he announces that he will commit trága, as it is called; or if an engagement is not complied with, he issues the same threat unless it is fulfilled. If he is not attended to, he proceeds to gash his limbs with a dagger, which in the last resort he will plunge into his heart; or he will first strike off the head of his child; or different guarantees to the agreement will cast lots who is to be first beheaded by his companions. The disgrace of these proceedings, and the fear of having a bard's blood on their head, generally reduce the most obstinate to reason. Their fidelity is exemplary, and they never hesitate to sacrifice their lives to keep up an ascendancy on which the importance of their cast depends.*

Of the same nature with this is the custom by which Bramins seat themselves with a dagger or with poison at a man's door, and threaten to make away with themselves if the owner eats before he has

* See *Tod's Rajasthan*, and *Malcolm's Central India*, vol. ii. p. 130.

complied with their demands. Common creditors also resort to this practice (which is called dherna); but without threats of self-murder. They prevent their debtor's eating by an appeal to his honour, and also by stopping his supplies; and they fast, themselves, during all the time that they compel their debtor to do so. This sort of compulsion is used even against princes, and must not be resisted by force. It is a very common mode employed by troops to procure payment of arrears, and is then directed either against the paymaster, the prime minister, or the sovereign himself.

The practice of sworn friendship is remarkable, though not peculiar, to the Hindús. Persons take a vow of friendship and mutual support with certain forms; and, even in a community little remarkable for faith, it is infamous to break this oath.*

Mountaineers and forest tribes.

The hills and forests in the centre of India are inhabited by a people differing widely from those who occupy the plains. They are small, black, slender, but active, with peculiar features, and a quick and restless eye. They wear few clothes, are armed with bows and arrows, make open profession of plunder, and, unless the government is strong, are always at war with all their neighbours. When invaded, they conduct their operations with secrecy and celerity, and shower their arrows from rocks and thickets, whence they can escape before

* Part of the ceremony is dividing a bhél, or wood-apple, half of which is kept by each party, and, from this compact, is called bhél bhandár.

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they can be attacked, and often before they can be seen.

They live in scattered and sometimes moveable hamlets, are divided into small communities, and allow great power to their chiefs. They subsist on the produce of their own imperfect cultivation, and on what they obtain by exchanges or plunder from the plains. They occasionally kill game, but do not depend on that for their support. In many parts the berries of the mahua tree form an important part of their food.

Besides one or two of the Hindú gods, they have many of their own, who dispense particular blessings or calamities. The one who presides over the small-pox is, in most places, looked on with peculiar awe.

They sacrifice fowls, pour libations before eating, are guided by inspired magicians, and not by priests, bury their dead, and have some ceremonies on the birth of children, marriages, and funerals, in common. They are all much addicted to spirituous liquors; and most of them kill and eat oxen. Their great abode is in the Vindya mountains, which run east and west from the Ganges to Guzerát, and the broad tract of forest which extends north and south from the neighbourhood of Allahabad to the latitude of Masulipatam, and, with interruptions, almost to Cape Comorin. In some places the forest has been encroached on by cultivation; and the inhabitants have remained in the plains as village watchmen, hunters, and other

trades suited to their habits. In a few places their devastations have restored the clear country to the forest; and the remains of villages are seen among the haunts of wild beasts.

The points of resemblance above mentioned lead to the opinion that all these rude tribes form one people; but they differ in other particulars, and each has a separate name; so that it is only by comparing their languages (where they retain a distinct language) that we can hope to see the question of their identity settled.

These people, at Bágalpúr, are called pahárias, or mountaineers. Under the name of Cóls they occupy a great tract of wild country in the west of Bengal and Behár, and extend into the Vindya mountains, near Mírzapúr. In the adjoining part of the Vindya range, and in the centre and south of the great forest, they are called Gónds; further west, in the Vindya chain, they are called Bhíls; and in all the western hills, Cólis; which name probably has some connection with the Cóls of Behár, and may possibly have some with the Cólaris, a similar tribe in the extreme south. The Cólis stretch westward along the hills and forests in Guzerát, nearly to the desert; on the south they take in part of the range of Gháts.

These tribes are known by different names in other parts of the country; but the above are by far the most considerable.

Their early history is uncertain. In the Deckan they were in their present state at the time of the

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Hindú invasion; and probably some of them were those allies of Ráma whom tradition and fiction have turned into a nation of monkeys.

That whole country was then a forest; and the present tribes are in those portions of it which have not yet been brought into cultivation. The great tract of forest, called Góndwána, lying between the rich countries of Berár and Cattac, and occasionally broken in upon by patches of cultivation, gives a clear idea of the original state of the Deckan, and the progress of its improvement.

In Hindostan they may be the unsubdued part of the nation from whom the servile class was formed; or, if it be true that even there their language is mixed with Támul, they may possibly be the remains of some aboriginal people anterior even to those conquered by the Hindús.

There are other tribes of mountaineers in the north-eastern hills, and the lower branches of Hémaláya; but they all differ widely from those above described, and partake more of the features and appearance of the nations between them and China.

No separate mention is made of the mountain tribes by the Greeks; but Pliny more than once speaks of such communities.

Character.

Englishmen in India have less opportunity than might be expected of forming opinions of the native character. Even in England few know much of the people beyond their own class, and what they do know they learn from books and newspapers, which do not exist in India. In that coun-

try, also, religion and manners put bars to our intimacy with the natives, and limit the number of transactions as well as the free communication of opinions. We know nothing of the interior of families but by report; and have no share in those numerous occurrences of life in which the amiable parts of character are most exhibited.

Missionaries of a different religion, judges, police magistrates, officers of revenue or customs, and even diplomatists, do not see the most virtuous portion of a nation, nor any portion, unless when influenced by passion, or occupied by some personal interest. What we do see we judge by our own standard. We conclude that a man who cries like a child on slight occasions, must always be incapable of acting or suffering with dignity; and that one who allows himself to be called a liar would not be ashamed of any baseness. Our writers also confound the distinctions of time and place; they combine in one character the Maratta and the Bengalese; and tax the present generation with the crimes of the heroes of the "Mahá Bhárat." It might be argued, in opposition to many unfavourable testimonies, that those who have known the Indians longest have always the best opinion of them; but this is rather a compliment to human nature than to them, since it is true of every other people. It is more in point, that all persons who have retired from India think better of the people they have left after comparing them with others even of the most justly admired nations.

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These considerations should make us distrust our own impressions, when unfavourable, but cannot blind us to the fact that the Hindús have, in reality, some great defects of character.

Their defects, no doubt, arise chiefly from moral causes; but they are also to be ascribed, in part, to physical constitution, and in part to soil and climate.

Some races are certainly less vigorous than others; and all must degenerate if placed in an enervating atmosphere.

Mere heat may not enervate: if it is unavoidable and unremitting, it even produces a sort of hardiness like that arising from the rigours of a northern winter. If sterility be added, and the fruits of hard labour are contested among scattered tribes, the result may be the energy and decision of the Arab.

But, in India, a warm temperature is accompanied by a fertile soil which renders severe labour unnecessary, and an extent of land that would support an almost indefinite increase of inhabitants. The heat is moderated by rain, and warded off by numerous trees and forests: every thing is calculated to produce that state of listless inactivity which foreigners find it so difficult to resist. The shades of character that are found in different parts of India tend to confirm this supposition. The inhabitants of the dry countries in the north, which in winter are cold, are comparatively manly and active. The Marattas, inhabiting a mountainous and unfertile region, are hardy and laborious; while the Bengalese, with their moist climate

and their double crops of rice, where the cocoa-nut tree and the bamboo furnish all the materials for construction unwrought, are more effeminate than any other people in India. But love of repose, though not sufficient to extinguish industry or repress occasional exertions, may be taken as a characteristic of the whole people.

Akin to their indolence is their timidity, which arises more from the dread of being involved in trouble and difficulties than from want of physical courage: and from these two radical influences almost all their vices are derived. Indolence and timidity themselves may be thought to be produced by despotism and superstition without any aid from nature; but if those causes were alone sufficient, they would have had the same operation on the indefatigable Chinese and the intrepid Russian: in the present case they are as likely to be effect as cause.

The most prominent vice of the Hindús is want of veracity, in which they outdo most nations even of the East. They do not even resent the imputation of falsehood; the same man would calmly answer to a doubt by saying, "Why should I tell a lie?" who would shed blood for what he regarded as the slightest infringement of his honour.

Perjury, which is only an aggravated species of falsehood, naturally accompanies other offences of the kind (though it is not more frequent than in other Asiatic countries); and those who pay so little regard to statements about the past, cannot be

expected to be scrupulous in promises for the future. Breaches of faith in private life are much more common in India than in England; but even in India, the great majority, of course, are true to their word.

It is in people connected with government that deceit is most common; but in India, this class spreads far; as, from the nature of the land revenue, the lowest villager is often obliged to resist force by fraud.

In some cases, the faults of the government produce an opposite effect. Merchants and bankers are generally strict observers of their engagements. If it were otherwise, commerce could not go on where justice is so irregularly administered.

Hindús are not ill fitted by nature for intrigue and cunning, when their situation calls forth those qualities. Patient, supple, and insinuating, they will penetrate the views of a person with whom they have to deal; watch his humours; soothe or irritate his temper; present things in such a form as suits their designs, and contrive, by indirect manœuvres, to make others even unwillingly contribute to the accomplishment of their ends. But their plots are seldom so daring or flagitious as those of other Asiatic nations, or even of Indian Mussulmans, though these last have been softened by their intercourse with the people among whom they are settled.

It is probably owing to the faults of their government that they are corrupt; to take a bribe in a

good cause is almost meritorious; and it is a venial offence to take one when the cause is bad. Pecuniary fraud is not thought very disgraceful, and, if against the public, scarcely disgraceful at all.

It is to their government, also, that we must impute their flattery and their importunity. The first is gross, even after every allowance has been made for the different degrees of force which nations give to the language of civility. The second arises from the indecision of their own rulers: they never consider an answer final, and are never ashamed to prosecute a suit as long as their varied invention, the possible change of circumstances, or the exhausted patience of the person applied to gives them a hope of carrying their point.

Like all that are slow to actual conflict, they are very litigious, and much addicted to verbal altercation. They will persevere in a law-suit till they are ruined; and will argue, on other occasions, with a violence so unlike their ordinary demeanour, that one unaccustomed to them expects immediate blows or bloodshed.

The public spirit of Hindús is either confined to their cast or village, in which cases it is often very strong; or if it extends to the general government, it goes no further than zeal for its authority on the part of its agents and dependents. Great national spirit is sometimes shown in war, especially where religion is concerned, but allegiance in general sits very loose: a subject will take service against his natural sovereign as readily as for him; and always

has more regard to the salt he has eaten than to the land in which he was born.

Although the Hindús, as has been seen, break through some of the most important rules of morality, we must not suppose that they are devoid of principle. Except in the cases specified, they have all the usual respect for moral obligations; and to some rules which, in their estimation, are of peculiar importance, they adhere, in spite of every temptation to depart from them. A Bramin will rather starve to death than eat prohibited food: a headman of a village will suffer the torture rather than consent to a contribution laid on the inhabitants by a tyrant, or by banditti: the same servant who cheats his master in his accounts may be trusted with money to any amount in deposit. Even in corrupt transactions, it is seldom that men will not rather undergo a punishment than betray those to whom they have given a bribe.

Their great defect is a want of manliness. Their slavish constitution, their blind superstition, their extravagant mythology, the subtilties and verbal distinctions of their philosophy, the languid softness of their poetry, their effeminate manners, their love of artifice and delay, their submissive temper, their dread of change, the delight they take in puerile fables, and their neglect of rational history, are so many proofs of the absence of the more robust qualities of disposition and intellect throughout the mass of the nation.

But this censure, though true of the whole, when

compared with other nations, by no means applies to all classes, or to any at all times. The labouring people are industrious and persevering; and other classes, when stimulated by any strong motive, and sometimes even by mere sport, will go through great hardships and endure long fatigue.

They are not a people habitually to bear up against desperate attacks, and still less against a long course of discouragement and disaster; yet they often display bravery not surpassed by the most warlike nations; and will always throw away their lives for any consideration of religion or honour. Hindú Sepoys in our pay have, in two instances, advanced, after troops of the King's service had been beaten off; and on one of these occasions they were opposed to French soldiers. The sequel of this history will show instances of whole bodies of troops rushing forward to certain death, while, in private life, the lowest orders do not hesitate to commit suicide if they once conceive their honour tarnished.

Their contempt of death is, indeed, an extraordinary concomitant to their timidity when exposed to lesser evils. When his fate is inevitable, the lowest Hindú encounters it with a coolness that would excite admiration in Europe, converses with his friends with cheerfulness, and awaits the approach of death without any diminution of his usual serenity.

The best specimen of the Hindú character, retaining its peculiarities while divested of many of

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its defects, is found among the Rájpúts and other military classes in Gangetic Hindostan. It is there we are most likely to gain a clear conception of their high spirit, their enthusiastic courage, and generous self-devotion, so singularly combined with gentleness of manners and softness of heart, together with a boyish playfulness and almost infantine simplicity.

The villagers are everywhere an inoffensive amiable people, affectionate to their families, kind to their neighbours; and, towards all but the government, honest and sincere.

The townspeople are of a more mixed character; but they are quiet and orderly, seldom disturbing the public peace by tumults, or their own by private broils. On the whole, if we except those connected with the Government, they will bear a fair comparison with the people of towns in England. Their advantages in religion and government give a clear superiority to our middle classes; and even among the labouring class, there are many to whom no parallel could be found in any rank in India; but, on the other hand, there is no set of people among the Hindús so depraved as the dregs of our great towns; and the swarms of persons who live by fraud—sharpers, impostors, and adventurers of all descriptions, from those who mix with the higher orders down to those who prey on the common people—are almost unknown in India.

Some of the most conspicuous of the crimes in India exceed those of all other countries in atro-

city. The Thags* have been mentioned; and the Decoits are almost as detestable for their cruelty as the others for their deliberate treachery.

The Decoits are gangs associated for the purpose of plunder, who assemble by night, fall on an unsuspecting village, kill those who offer resistance, seize on all property, and torture those whom they imagine to have wealth concealed. Next morning they are melted into the population; and such is the dread inspired by them, that, even when known, people can seldom be found to come forward and accuse them. Except in the absence of political feeling, and the greater barbarity of their proceedings, their offence resembles those which have, at times, been common in Ireland. In India it is the consequence of weak government during the anarchy of the last hundred years, and is rapidly disappearing under the vigorous administration of the British. Both Thags and Decoits are at least as often Mahometans as Hindús.

The horror excited by such enormities leads us at first to imagine peculiar depravity in the country where they occur; but a further inquiry removes that impression. Including Thags and Decoits, the mass of crime in India is less than in England. Thags are almost a separate nation, and Decoits are desperate ruffians who enter into permanent gangs and devote their lives to rapine; but the remaining part of the population is little given to such passions as disturb society. By a series of

* See page 362. of this volume.

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Reports laid before the House of Commons in 1832 *, it appears that, on an average of four years, the number of capital sentences *carried into effect* annually in England and Wales was 1 for 203,281 souls; and in the provinces under the Bengal presidency, 1 for 1,004,182 †; transportation for life, in England, 1 for 67,173, and in the Bengal provinces, 1 for 402,010.

We may admit that the proportion of undetected crimes in Bengal is considerably greater than in England; but it would require a most extravagant allowance on that account to bring the amount of great crimes in the two countries to an equality.

Murders are oftener from jealousy, or some such motive, than for gain: and theft is confined to particular classes; so that there is little uneasiness regarding property. Europeans sleep with every door in the house open, and their property scattered about as it lay in the day time, and seldom have to complain of loss: even with so numerous a body of servants as fills every private house, it is no small proof of habitual confidence to see scarcely any thing locked up.

The natives of India are often accused of wanting gratitude; but it does not appear that those who make the charge have done much to inspire

* Minutes of Evidence (Judicial), No. IV. p. 103.

† The annual number of sentences to death in England was 1232, and of executions 64. In Bengal, the sentences were 59, and the executions the same. England is taken at 13,000,000 souls, and the Bengal provinces at 60,000,000.

such a sentiment. When masters are really kind and considerate, they find as warm a return from Indian servants as any in the world; and there are few who have tried them in sickness, or in difficulties and dangers, who do not bear witness to their sympathy and attachment. Their devotion to their own chiefs is proverbial, and can arise from no other cause than gratitude, unless where cast supplies the place of clannish feeling. The fidelity of our Sepoys to their foreign masters has been shown in instances which it would be difficult to match, even among national troops, in any other country.

Nor is this confined to the lower orders; it is common to see persons who have been patronised by men in power, not only continue their attachment to them when in disgrace, but even to their families when they have left them in a helpless condition. *

Though their character is altered since the mixture with foreigners, the Hindús are still a mild and gentle people. The cruel massacres that attended all their battles with the Mahometans must

* A perfectly authentic instance might be mentioned, of an English gentleman, in a high station in Bengal, who was dismissed, and afterwards reduced to great temporary difficulties in his own country: a native of rank, to whom he had been kind, supplied him, when in those circumstances, with upwards of 10,000*l.*, of which he would not accept repayment, and for which he could expect no possible return. This generous friend was a Maratta Bramin, a race of all others who have least sympathy with people of other casts, and who are most hardened and corrupted by power.

have led to sanguinary retaliation; and they no longer act on the generous laws of war which are so conspicuous in Menu. But even now they are more merciful to prisoners than any other Asiatic people, or than their Mussulman countrymen.

Tippoo used to cut off the right hands and noses of the British camp followers that fell into his hands. The last Péshwa gave to men of the same sort a small quantity of provisions and a rupee each, to enable them to return to their business, after they had been plundered by his troops.

Cold-blooded cruelty is, indeed, imputed to Bramins in power, and it is probably the result of checking the natural outlets for resentment; but the worst of them are averse to causing death, especially when attended with shedding blood. In ordinary circumstances, the Hindús are compassionate and benevolent; but they are deficient in *active* humanity, partly owing to the unsocial effects of cast, and partly to the apathy which makes them indifferent to their own calamities, as well as to those of their neighbours.

This deficiency appears in their treatment of the poor. All feed Bramins and give alms to religious mendicants; but a beggar from mere want would neither be relieved by the charity of Europe, nor the indiscriminate hospitality of most parts of Asia.

Though improvidence is common among the poor, and ostentatious profusion, on particular occasions, among the rich, the general disposition of the Hindús is frugal, and even parsimonious. Their

ordinary expenses are small, and few of any rank in life hesitate to increase their savings by employing them indirectly in commerce, or by lending them out at high interest.

Hindú children are much more quick and intelligent than European ones. The capacity of lads of twelve and fourteen is often surprising; and not less so is the manner in which their faculties become blunted after the age of puberty.

But at all ages they are very intelligent; and this strikes us most in the lower orders, who, in propriety of demeanour, and in command of language, are far less different from their superiors than with us.

Their freedom from gross debauchery is the point in which the Hindús appear to most advantage. It can scarcely be expected, from their climate and its concomitants, that they should be less licentious than other nations; but if we compare them with our own, the absence of drunkenness, and of immodesty in their other vices, will leave the superiority in purity of manners on the side least flattering to our self-esteem.

Their indifference to the grossest terms in conversation appears inconsistent with this praise; but it has been well explained as arising from "that simplicity which conceives that whatever can exist without blame, may be named without offence;" and this view is confirmed by the decorum of their behaviour in other respects.

Though naturally quiet and thoughtful, they are

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cheerful in society; fond of conversation and amusement, and delighting in anecdote and humour bordering on buffoonery. It has been remarked before, that their conversation is often trifling, and this frivolity extends to their general character, and is combined with a disposition to vanity and ostentation.

In their persons they are, *generally speaking*, lower, and always more slender, than Europeans.* They have a better carriage and more grace, less strength, but more free use of their limbs.

They are of a brown colour, between the complexion of the southern European and that of the negro. Their hair is long, rather lank, and always jet black. Their mustachios and (in the few cases in which they wear them) their beards are long and strong. Their women have a large share of beauty and grace, set off by a feminine reserve and simplicity.

The cleanliness of the Hindús in their persons is proverbial. They do not change their clothes after each of their frequent ablutions; but even in that respect the lower classes are more cleanly than those of other nations. The public parts of their houses are kept very neat; but they have none of the English delicacy which requires even places out of sight to partake of the general good order.

Comparison of the Hindú character in ancient and modern times.

Before coming to any conclusions from the two views which have been given of the Hindús, — at

* The military classes in Hindostan are much taller than the common run of Englishmen.

the earliest epoch of which we possess accounts, and at the present day, — it will be of advantage to see how they stood at an intermediate period, for which we fortunately possess the means, through the accounts left us by the Greeks, a people uninfluenced by any of our peculiar opinions, and yet one whose views we can understand, and whose judgment we can appreciate.

This question has been fully examined in another place*, and the results alone need be mentioned here.

From them it appears that the chief changes between the time of Menu's Code and that of Alexander, were — the complete emancipation of the servile class; the more general occurrence, if not the first instances, of the practice of self-immolation by widows; the prohibition of intermarriages between casts; the employment of the Bramins as soldiers, and their inhabiting separate villages; and, perhaps, the commencement of the monastic orders.

The changes from Menu to the present time have already been fully set forth; and if we take a more extensive review (without contrasting two particular periods), we shall find the alterations have generally been for the worse.

The total extinction of the servile condition of the Súdras is, doubtless, an improvement; but in other respects we find the religion of the Hindús debased, their restrictions of cast more rigid (ex-

* See Appendix III.

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cept in the interested relaxation of the Bramins), the avowed imposts on the land doubled, the courts of justice disused, the laws less liberal towards women, the great works of peace no longer undertaken, and the courtesies of war almost forgotten. We find, also, from their extant works, that the Hindús once excelled in departments of taste and science on which they never now attempt to write; and that they formerly impressed strangers with a high respect for their courage, veracity, simplicity, and integrity, — the qualities in which they now seem to us most deficient.

It is impossible, from all this, not to come to a conclusion that the Hindús were once in a higher condition, both moral and intellectual, than they are now; and as, even in their present state of depression, they are still on a footing of equality with any people out of Europe, it seems to follow that, at one time, they must have attained a state of civilisation only surpassed by a few of the most favoured of the nations, either of antiquity or of modern times.

The causes of their decline have already been touched on in different places. Their religion encourages inaction, which is the first step towards decay. The rules of cast check improvement at home, and at the same time prevent its entering from abroad: it is those rules that have kept up the separation between the Hindús and the Mussulmans, and furnished the only instance in which an idolatrous religion has stood out against the

comparative purity even of that of Mahomet, when the latter was professed by the government. Despotism would doubtless contribute its share to check the progress of society; but it was less oppressive and degrading than in most Asiatic countries.

The minute subdivisions of inheritances is not peculiar to the Hindús; and yet it is that which most strikes an inquirer into the causes of the abject condition of the greater part of them. By it the descendants of the greatest landed proprietor must, in time, be broken down to something between a farmer and a labourer, but less independent than either; and without a chance of accumulation to enable them to recover their position. Bankers and merchants may get rich enough to leave all their sons with fortunes; but, as each possessor knows that he can neither found a family nor dispose of his property by will, he endeavours to gain what pleasure and honour he can from his life-rent, by ostentation in feasts and ceremonies; and by commencing temples, tanks, and groves, which his successors are too poor to complete or to repair.*

The effect of equal division on men's minds is as great as on their fortunes. It was resorted to by some ancient republics to prevent the growth of luxury and the disposition to innovation. In India it effectually answers those ends, and stifles all the restless feelings to which men might be led by the

* Hence the common opinion among Europeans, that it is thought unlucky for a son to go on with his father's work.

ambition of permanently improving their condition. A man who has amassed a fortune by his own labours is not likely to have a turn for literature or the fine arts; and if he had, his collections would be dispersed at his death, and his sons would have to begin their toils anew, without time for acquiring that refinement in taste or elevation of sentiment which is brought about by the improved education of successive generations.

Hence, although rapid rise and sudden fortunes are more common in India than in Europe, they produce no permanent change in the society; all remains on the same dead level, with no conspicuous objects to guide the course of the community, and no barriers to oppose to the arbitrary will of the ruler.*

Under such discouragements we cannot be surprised at the stagnation and decline of Hindú civilisation. The wonder is, how it could ever struggle against them, and how it attained to such a pitch as exists even at this moment.

At what time it had reached its highest point it is not easy to say. Perhaps in institutions and moral

* The great military chiefs may be said to be exceptions to this rule, for they not unfrequently transmit their lands to their children: but they are, for purposes of improvement, the worst people into whose hands property could fall. As their power rests on mercenary soldiers, they have no need to call in the aid of the people, like our barons; and as each lives on his own lands at a distance from his equals, they neither refine each other by their intercourse, nor those below them by the example of their social habits.

character it was at its best just before Alexander; but learning was much longer in reaching its acme. The most flourishing period for literature is represented by Hindú tradition to be that of Vicrama Ditya, a little before the beginning of our æra; but some of the authors who are mentioned as the ornaments of that prince's court appear to belong to later times; and the good writers, whose works are extant, extend over a long space of time, from the second century before Christ to the eighth of the Christian æra. Mathematical science was in most perfection in the fifth century after Christ; but works of merit, both in literature and science, continued to be composed for some time after the Mahometan invasion.

# BOOK IV.

## HISTORY OF THE HINDÚS UP TO THE MAHOMETAN INVASION.

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## CHAP. I.

### HISTORY OF THE HINDÚS — HINDOSTAN.

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THE first information we receive on Hindú history is from a passage in Menu, which gives us to infer that their residence was at one time between the rivers Seraswati (Sersooty) and Drishadwati (Caggar), a tract about 100 miles to the north-west of Delhi, and in extent about sixty-five miles long, and from twenty to forty broad. That land, Menu says, was called Bramhâverta, because it was frequented by gods; and the custom preserved by immemorial tradition in that country is pointed out as a model to the pious.* The country between that tract and the Jamna, and all to the north of the Jamna and Ganges, including North Behár, is mentioned, in the second place, under the name of Bramarshi; and Bramins born within that tract

* Menu, Book II. v. 17, 18. This tract is also the scene of the adventures of the first princes, and the residence of the most famous sages. — WILSON, Preface to Vishnu Purána, p. lxvii.

are pronounced to be suitable teachers of the several usages of men.*

This, therefore, may be set down as the first country acquired after that on the Seraswati.

The Puránas pass over these early stages unnoticed, and commence with Ayodha (Oud), about the centre of the last mentioned tract. It is there that the solar and lunar races have their origin; and from thence the princes of all other countries are sprung.

From fifty to seventy generations of the solar race are only distinguished from each other by purely mythological legends.

After these comes Ráma, who seems entitled to take his place in real history.

Expedition of Ráma.

His story†, when stripped of its fabulous and romantic decorations, merely relates that Ráma possessed a powerful kingdom in Hindostan; and that he invaded the Deckan and penetrated to the island of Ceylon, which he conquered.

The first of these facts there is no reason to question; and we may readily believe that Ráma led an expedition into the Deckan; but it is highly improbable that, if he was the first, or even *among* the first invaders, he should have conquered Ceylon. If he did so, he could not have lived, as is generally supposed, before the compilation of the Vedas; for, even in the time of Menu's Institutes, there were no settlements of Hindú conquerors in

* Menu, Book II. v. 19, 20.

† See p. 173.

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the Deckan. It is probable that the poets who have celebrated Ráma, not only reared a great fabric on a narrow basis, but transferred their hero's exploits to the scene which was thought most interesting in their own day.

The undoubted antiquity of the "Ramáyana" is the best testimony to the early date of the event which it celebrates; yet, as no conspicuous invasion of the Deckan could have been undertaken without great resources, Ráma must have lived after Hindú civilisation had attained a considerable pitch.

After Ráma, sixty princes of his race ruled in succession over his dominions; but, as we hear no more of Ayodha (Oud), it is possible that the kingdom (which at one time was called Coshala) may have merged in another; and that the capital was transferred from Oud to Canouj.

War of the "Mahá Bhárat."

The war celebrated in the "Mahá Bhárat" is the next historical event that deserves notice.

It is a contest between the lines of Pándu and of Curu (two branches of the reigning family) for the territory of Hastinapúra (probably a place on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi, which still bears the ancient name). The family itself is of the lunar race, but the different parties are supported by numerous allies, and some from very remote quarters.

There seem to have been many states in India (six, at least, in the one tract upon the Ganges*);

* Hastinapúra, Mattra, Panchála (part of Oud and the lower Doáb), Benares, Magada, and Bengal. (*Oriental Magazine,*

but a considerable degree of intercourse and connection appears to have been kept up among them. Crishna, who is an ally of the Pándus, though born on the Jamna, had founded a principality in Guzerát: among the allies on each side are chiefs from the Indus, and from Calinga in the Deckan; some, even, who, the translators are satisfied, belonged to nations beyond the Indus; and Yávanas, a name which most orientalists consider to apply, in all early works, to the Greeks. The Pándus were victorious, but paid so dear for their success, that the survivors, broken-hearted with the loss of their friends and the destruction of their armies, abandoned the world and perished among the snows of Hémaláya. Crishna, their great ally, fell, as was formerly stated*, in the midst of civil wars in his own country. Some Hindú legends relate that his sons were obliged to retire beyond the Indus†; and, as those Rájpúts who have come from that quarter in modern times to Sind and Cach are of his tribe of Yádu, the narrative seems more deserving of credit than at first sight might appear. The more authentic account, however (that of the

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vol. iii. p. 135.; Tod, vol. i. p. 49.) Ayodha is not mentioned in the "Mahá Bhárat," nor Canacubya (Canouj), unless, as asserted in Menu (Chap. II. s. 19.), Panchála is only another name for that kingdom.

* See p. 175.

† See Colonel Tod, vol. i. p. 85., and the translation (through the Persian) of the "Mahá Bhárat," published by the Oriental Translation Fund, in 1831.

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"Mahá Bhárat" itself), describes them as finally returning to the neighbourhood of the Jamna.

The story of the "Mahá Bhárat" is much more probable than that of the "Ramáyana." It contains more particulars about the state of India, and has a much greater appearance of being founded on facts. Though far below the "Iliad" in appearance of reality, it bears nearly the same relation to the "Ramáyana" that the poem on the Trojan war does to the legends on the adventures of Hercules; and, like the "Iliad," it is the source to which many chiefs and tribes endeavour to trace their ancestors.

The date of the war has already been discussed.* It was probably in the fourteenth century before Christ.

Twenty-nine (some say sixty-four) of the descendants of the Pándus succeeded them on the throne; but the names alone of those princes are preserved. The seat of their government seems to have been transferred to Delhi.

Magada.

The successors of one of the kings who appear as allies in the same poem were destined to attract greater notice. These are the kings of Magada, of whom so much has been already said.†

The kings of Magada seem always to have possessed extensive authority. The first of them (he who is mentioned in the "Mahá Bhárat") is represented as the head of a number of chiefs and tribes; but most of those probably were within the limits of Bengal and Behár, as we have seen that there

* Page 267. † Page 260.

were five other independent kingdoms in the tract watered by the Ganges.*

For many centuries they were all of the military tribe; but the last Nanda was born of a Súdra mother; and Chandragupta, who murdered and succeeded him, was also of a low class: from this time, say the Puránas, the Cshetryas lost their ascendancy in Magada, and all the succeeding kings and chiefs were Súdras.†

They do not seem to have lost their consequence from the degradation of their cast; for the Súdra successors of Chandragupta are said, in the hyperbolical language of the Puránas, to have brought the "whole earth under one umbrella‡;" and there appears the strongest reason to believe that Asóca, the third of the line, was really in possession of a commanding influence over the states to the north of the Nerbadda. The extent of his dominions appears from the remote points at which his edict columns are erected; and the same monuments bear testimony to the civilised character of his government; since they contain orders for esta-

* It is remarkable the Yávanas or Greeks are represented as allies of the king of Magada,—a circumstance evidently arising from the connection between the king of the Prasii and the successors of Alexander. (Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 101.) Another of their allies, Bhagadatta, who receives the pompous title of "King of the South and West," appears by the "Ayeen Akbery" (vol. ii. p. 16.) to have been prince of Bengal.

† Sir W. Jones, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 139.; Professor Wilson, *Hindú Drama*, vol. iii. p. 14.

‡ Professor Wilson, *Hindú Theatre*, vol. iii. p. 14.

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blishing hospitals and dispensaries throughout his empire, as well as for planting trees and digging wells along the public highways.

This ascendancy of Asóca is the earliest ground I have been able to discover for an opinion which has been maintained, that the kings of Magada were emperors and lords paramount of India; and Colonel Wilford, who has recorded all that he could ascertain regarding those kings*, states nothing that can countenance a belief in a greater extent or earlier commencement of their supremacy. During the war of the "Mahá Bhárat," it has been shown that they formed one of six little monarchies within the basin of the Ganges; and that they were among the unsuccessful opponents of one of those petty states, that of Hastinapúra.

Alexander found no lord paramount in the part of India which he visited; and the nations which he heard of beyond the Hyphasis were under aristocratic governments. Arrian† and Strabo‡ say that the Prasii were the most distinguished of all the Indian nations; but neither hints at their supremacy over the others. Arrian, indeed, in giving this preference to the Prasii, and their king, Sandracottus, adds that Porus was greater than he. Megasthenes§ says that there were 118 nations in India, but mentions none of them as subordinate to the Prasii. It is impossible to suppose that

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ix.

† Chap. v.

‡ Book xv. p. 483.

§ Quoted by Arrian, chap. vii.

Megasthenes, who resided at the court of Sandracottus, and seems so well disposed to exalt his greatness, should have failed to mention his being emperor of India, or indeed his having any decided ascendancy over states beyond his own immediate limits.

The Hindú accounts* represent Chandragupta as all but overwhelmed by foreign invasion, and indebted for his preservation to the arts of his minister more than to the force of his kingdom. It is probable, however, that he laid the foundation of that influence which was so much extended under his grandson. His accepting the cession of the Macedonian garrisons on the Indus, from Seleucus, is a proof how far he himself had carried his views; and Asóca, in his youth, was governor of Ujén or Málwa, which must, therefore, have been a possession of his father.

The claim to universal monarchy in India has been advanced by princes of other dynasties in their inscriptions; and has been conceded, by different European authors, to Porus, to the kings of Cashmír, of Delhi, Canouj, Bengal, Málwa, Guzerát, and other places; but all apparently on very insufficient grounds.

The family of Máurya retained possession of the throne for ten generations, and were succeeded by three other Súdra dynasties, the last and longest of which bore the name of Andra.†

* See *Wilson's Theatre of the Hindús*, vol. iii.

† See "Chronology," p. 269.

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This dynasty ended in A.D. 436, and is succeeded in the Puránas by a confused assemblage of dynasties seemingly not Hindús; from which, and the interruption at all attempts at historical order, we may infer a foreign invasion, followed by a long period of disorder. At the end of several centuries, a gleam of light breaks in, and discovers Magada subject to the Gupta kings of Canouj. From this period it is no longer distinctly mentioned.

The fame of Magada has been preserved, from its being the birthplace of Budha, and from its language (Magadi or Pali) being now employed in the sacred writings of his most extensively diffused religion, as well as in those of the Jáins.

Bengal.

A king of what we now call Bengal is mentioned among the allies of the king of Magada in the war of the "Mahá Bhárat." From him, the "A'yeni Akberi" continues the succession, through five dynasties, till the Mahometan conquest. These lists, being only known to us by the translations of Abulfazl, might be looked on with more suspicion than the Hindú ones already noticed. But that one of them, at least (the fourth), is founded in truth, is proved by inscriptions; and from them, a series of princes, with names ending in Pála, may be made out, who probably reigned from the ninth to the latter part of the eleventh century.*

* See Mr. Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 442., and the various inscriptions in the preceding volumes there mentioned.

The inscriptions relating to this family were found at distant places, and in circumstances that leave no room to question their authenticity: yet they advance statements which are surprising in themselves, and difficult to reconcile to what we know, from other sources, of the history of India. They represent the kings of Bengal as ruling over the whole of India; from Hémaláya to Cape Comorin, and from the Baramputr to the Indus. They even assert that the same kings subdued Tibet on the east, and Cambója (which some suppose to be beyond the Indus) on the west. *

* The earliest, a copper tablet containing a grant of land, and found at Mongír, appears to be written in the ninth century, (See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 446., above quoted.) It says, in explicit terms, that the reigning rája, Déb Pál Déb (or Déva Pála Déva), possessed the whole of India from the source of the Ganges to Adam's Bridge (reaching to Ceylon), and from the river Megna, or Baramputr, to the western sea. It specifies the inhabitants of Bengal, the Carnatic, and Tibet among his subjects, and alludes to his army marching through Cambója,—a country generally supposed to be beyond the Indus; and, if not so, certainly in the extreme west of India. The next inscription is on a broken column in the district of Sáran, north of the Ganges. It was erected by a prince who professes himself tributary to Gour or Bengal, yet claims for his immediate territory the tract from Rewa Jhanak (not exactly known) to the Hémaláya mountains, and from the eastern to the western sea. It states the rája of Bengal (probably the son of the Déb Pál of the last inscription) to have conquered Orissa, a tribe or people called Húns (also mentioned in the former inscription), the southern part of the coast of Coromandel, and Guzerát. The third merely records that a magnificent monument in honour of Budha, near Benares, was erected in 1026 by a rája of Bengal of the same family as the above, who, from the earlier inscriptions, also appear to have been Budhists.

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These conquests are rendered impossible to any thing like their full extent, by the simultaneous existence of independent governments in Canouj, Delhi, Ajmir, Mewár, and Guzerát, if not in other places; but they could scarcely have been claimed in contemporary inscriptions, if the princes to whom they are ascribed had not affected some supremacy over the other states, and had not sent expeditions far into the west of India, and even into the heart of the Deckan. On the whole, this dynasty seems to have at least as good a claim as any other in the Hindú times to the dignity of general dominion, and affords a fresh reason for distrusting all such pretensions. The dynasty of Pála was succeeded by one whose names ended in Séna; and this last was subverted by the Mahometans about A. D. 1203.

Málwa.

Vicramaditya.

Though the kingdom of Málwa does not pretend to equal in antiquity those already mentioned, it is of it that we possess the first authentic date. The æra still current through all the countries north of the Nerbadda is that of Vicramaditya, who reigned at Újein at the date of its commencement, which was fifty-six years before Christ.

Vicramaditya is the Hárún al Rashíd of Hindú tales; and by drawing freely from such sources, Colonel Wilford collected such a mass of transactions as required the supposition of no less than eight Vicramadityas, to reconcile the dates of them; but all that is now admitted is, that Vicramaditya was a powerful monarch, ruled a civilised and pro-

sperous country, and was a distinguished patron of letters. CHAP. I.

Bhója. The next epoch is that of Rája Bhója, whose name is one of the most renowned in India, but of whose exploits no record has been preserved. His long reign terminated about the end of the eleventh century.

The intermediate six centuries are filled up by lists of kings in the "A'yeni Akberi," and in the Hindú books: among them is one named Chandrapála, who is said to have conquered all Hindostan; but the information is too vague to be made much use of. The princes of Málwa certainly extended their authority over a large portion of the centre and west of India; and it is of Vicramaditya that the traditions of universal empire are most common in India.

The grandson of Bhója was taken prisoner, and his country conquered, by the rája of Guzerát; but Málwa appears soon to have recovered its independence under a new dynasty; and was finally subdued by the Mahometans A. D. 1231.*

Guzerát. The residence of Crishna, and other events of those times, impress us with the belief of an early principality in Guzerát; and the whole is spoken of as under one dominion, by a Greek writer of the second century.† The Rájpút traditions,

* Colonel Tod, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 201., and Mr. Colebrooke, p. 230. of the same volume. See also *Gladwin's Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 48.

† Vincent's Periplus, p. 111. (note on Mambarus).

quoted by Colonel Tod *, inform us of another principality, founded at Ballabi, in the peninsula of Guzerát, in the middle of the second century of our æra, by Kanak Sena, an emigrant of the solar race, which reigned in Oud. They were driven out of their capital in 524, by an army of barbarians, who, Colonel Tod thinks, were Parthians. The princes of that family emigrated again from Guzerát, and at length founded the kingdom of Méwár, which still subsists. Grants of land, inscribed on copper tablets, which have been translated by Mr. Wathen†, fully confirm the fact that a race whose names often ended in Séna reigned at Ballabi from A. D. 144 to A. D. 524. The barbarians, whom Colonel Tod thinks Parthians, Mr. Wathen suggests may have been Indo-Bactrians. They are certainly too late to be Parthians; but it is not impossible they may have been Persians of the next race (Sassanians). Noushírwán reigned from A. D. 531 to A. D. 579. Various Persian authors quoted by Sir John Malcolm ‡, assert that this monarch carried his arms into Ferghána on the north, and India on the east; and as they are supported in the first assertion by Chinese records §, there seems no reason to distrust them in the second. Sir Henry Pottinger (though without stating his authority) gives a minute and probable account of Noushírwán's march along the sea coast

* Vol. i. pp. 83. 215.

† Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, vol. iv. p. 480, &c.

‡ Persia, vol. i. p. 141. § De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 469.

of Mekrán to Sind*; and, as Ballabi was close to Sind, we may easily believe him to have destroyed that city. Perhaps the current story of the descent of the Ránas of Méwár from Noushírwán may have some connection with their being driven into their present seats by that monarch.

The difference of seven years, by which the taking of Ballabi precedes Noushírwán's accession, is but a trifling matter in Hindú chronology.

The Ballabi princes were succeeded in the rule of Guzerát by the Cháuras, another Rájpút tribe, who finally established their capital, in A. D. 746, at Anhalwára, now Pattan, and became one of the greatest dynasties of India.

The last rája dying in A. D. 931 without male issue, was succeeded by his son-in-law as prince of the Rájpút tribe of Salónka, or Chalukya, whose family were chiefs of Calián in the Deckan, above the Ghâts.†

It was a rája of this dynasty that conquered Málwa; and it is to them, I suppose, that Colonel Wilford applies the title of emperors of India.‡ Though overrun and rendered tributary by the Mahmúd of Ghazni, the Salónkas remained on the

* Travels, &c. p. 386.

† Colonel Tod, vol. i. pp. 83. 97. 101. 206. From the comparative nearness of Calián in the Concan, Colonel Tod has naturally been led to suppose the Salónka prince to have come from thence; but further information is unfavourable to that opinion. Of the Salónka princes of Calián in the Deckan more will be said hereafter.

‡ Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. pp. 169. 179. 181, &c.

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throne till A. D. 1228, when they were deposed by another dynasty, which in 1297 * sunk in its turn before the Mussulman conquerors.

Canouj.

Few of the ancient Hindú states have attracted more notice than Canacubya or Canouj. It is one of the most ancient places in India; it gave rise, and gives a name, to one of the greatest divisions of the Bramin class; its capital was perhaps the wealthiest visited by the first Mahometan invaders; and its wars with the neighbouring state of Delhi contributed to accelerate the ruin of Hindú independence.

This kingdom appears in early times to have been called Panchála. It seems to have been a long, but narrow territory, extending on the east to Nepál (which it included), and on the west along the Chambal † and Banás, as far as Ajmír. We know little else of its early history, except the Rájpút writings and traditions collected by Colonel Tod ‡, and the inscriptions examined by Professor Wilson §, with those translated and discussed by Principal Mill. || The former relate that it was

* Briggs's Ferishta.

† The identity of Canouj and Panchála is assumed in Menu, II. 19. Its limits, as assigned in the "Mahá Bhárat," are made out by connecting the following notes in the "Oriental Magazine," vol. iii. p. 135., vol. iv. p. 142. It is remarkable that these boundaries, enlarged a little on the south and on the west, are the same as those assigned by Colonel Tod to the same kingdom at the time of the Mussulman invasion.—*Rajasthan*, vol. ii. p. 9.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 2.

§ Asiatic Researches, vol. xv.

|| Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii. for 1834.

taken from another Hindú dynasty, A. D. 470, by the Rathórs, who retained it until its conquest by the Mussulmans in A. D. 1193; when they withdrew to their present seats in Márwár.

In this interval they represent its conquests as including, at one period, Bengal and Orissa, and as extending on the west as far as the river Indus.

The inscriptions lead us to think that the dynasty subverted by the Mussulmans was of more recent origin, being established by a Rájpút adventurer in the eleventh century, and throw doubt on the accuracy of Colonel Tod's information in other respects.

The Rájpúts, as well as the Mahometan writers, who describe the conquest of India, dwell in terms of the highest admiration on the extent and magnificence of the capital of this kingdom, the ruins of which are still to be seen on the Ganges.

Other principalities.

It would be tedious to go through the names of the various petty Hindú states that existed at various periods in Hindostan: the annexed table gives a notion of the dates of some of them, though it must often be erroneous as well as incomplete.

The mention of Cashmír is confined to the table for a different reason from the rest. Its history is too full and complete to mix with such sketches as the above, and it enters little into the affairs of the other parts of India, except when it describes the invasion, and almost conquest, of that great continent, on more than one occasion, by its own

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rájas; the accuracy of which accounts appears to admit of question.*

It is not easy to decide what states to include in the list, even of those which have come to my knowledge. The Panjáb seems better entitled than Benares; but although a state, called

* This solitary specimen of Hindú history will be found most satisfactorily analysed and explained in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv.

In the following table the mark * indicates that a state is mentioned in the " Mahâ
authority for the last mention of states is seldom given. The year is generally that

| Name. | When first mentioned. | When last mentioned. | Authority. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Magada - | *By the Greeks, 300 B.C. - | About the 5th century, A.D. | Vishnu Purána, pp. 473, 474. (note) - - |
| Gour - | *9th century, A.D. | A.D. 1203 - | Monghír inscription |
| Málwa - | Eleven generations before 56 B.C. - - | A.D. 1231 - | A'yeni Akberi, vol. ii. p. 44. |
| Guzerát - | *A.D. 144 - - | A.D. 1297 - | Col. Tod, vol. i. p. 216.; Mr. Wathen, Jour. Royal As. Soc. vol. iv. p. 480. |
| Canouj - | *A.D. 470 - - | A.D. 1193 - | Tod, vol. ii. p. 2. |
| Mithili - | Ráma's time - - | A.D. 1325 - | - - - - |
| Benáres - | * - - - | A.D. 1192 - | - - - - |
| Delhi - | *About 56 B.C. - | A.D. 1192 - | Tod, vol. i. p. 51. - |

Tráigerta, was formed out of it in ancient times, and it was again nearly united, when attacked by the Mahometans, yet it is not noticed in the intermediate Indian history, and when visited by the Greeks, it was broken into very small principalities: Porus, one of the greatest chiefs, had not, with all his friends and dependents, one eighth part of the whole.

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Bhárat. The date in that case refers to the next time it is heard of in history. The mentioned by Ferishta as the one in which they were conquered by the Mahometans.

Mithili was the capital of the father of Síta, Ráma's wife. Though famous for a school of law, and though giving its name to one of the ten Indian languages, it is little mentioned in history.

Benáres seems to have been independent at the time of the "Mahá Bhárat;" it was probably afterwards subject to Magada, as it certainly was, at a later period, to Gour. It was independent when conquered by the Mahometans.

The next mention of Delhi in a probable form, after the "Mahá Bhárat," is its occupation by a tribe of Rájpúts, twenty of whom had reigned in succession, when they were dethroned in 1050 A.D. by an ancestor of Pritwi Rája, who was conquered by the Mussulmans.

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| Name. | When first mentioned. | When last mentioned. | Authority. |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Ajmír - | Seven generations before A.D. 695 - | A.D. 1192 - | Tod, Trans. Royal As. Soc. vol. i. p. 40., and Or. Mag. vol. viii. p. 20. - - |
| Méwár - | A.D. 720 - - | Still existing - | Tod, vol. i. p. 231. |
| Jesselmér | A.D. 731 - - | Still existing - | Tod, vol. ii. p. 233. |
| Jeipúr - | A.D. 967. - - | Still existing - | Tod, vol. ii. p. 346. |
| Sind - - | *Independent in Alexander's time, 325 B.C. | A.D. 711 - - | - - - - |
| Cashmír - | 1400 B.C. - - | A.D. 1015 - | Professor Wilson, As. Res. vol. xv. |

The eighth prince, Mánik Rái, reigned in A. D. 695. His descendant, Visal, was the prince who conquered Delhi in 1050. The two states fell together.

It seems to have been before this in the hands of the Málwa kings. It was conquered by a race of Rájpúts from Oud, the same who founded the state of Guzerát.

Jesselmér was founded by a tribe of the family of Crishna, who came from the north-west of India, and who still possess it.

Founded by a Rájpút prince, of a family of descendants of Ráma, who had, some generations before, obtained the petty principality of Narwar.

Sindu is mentioned as one principality in the "Mahá Bhárat." It was divided into four in Alexander's time; but united in 711, when invaded by the Arabs. It was afterwards recovered by the Rájpút tribe of Samera, A. D. 750, and not finally conquered by the Mahometans until after the house of Ghór.

The historians of Cashmír claim about 1200 years earlier, but give no names of kings and no events. After five dynasties, they were conquered by Mahmúd of Ghazni, in A. D. 1015 according to Ferishta.

## CHAP. II.

### THE DECKAN.

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Early state and divisions of the Deckan.

THE history of the Deckan, as it has no pretensions to equal antiquity, is less obscure than that of Hindostan, but it is less interesting. We know little of the early inhabitants; and the Hindús do not attract so much attention where they are colonists as they did in their native seats.* "All the traditions and records of the Peninsula (says Professor Wilson) recognise, in every part of it, a period when the natives were not Hindús;" and the aborigines are described, before their civilisation by the latter people, as foresters and mountaineers, or goblins and demons. Some circumstances, however, give rise to doubts whether the early inhabitants of the Deckan could have been in so rude a state as this account of them would lead us to suppose.

The Támul language must have been formed and perfected before the introduction of the Shanscrit: and though this fact may not be conclusive (since the North American Indians also possess a polished language), yet, if Mr. Ellis's opinion be

* The whole of the following information, down to the account of Orissa, is derived from Professor Wilson's Introduction to the Mackenzie Papers; though it may be sometimes modified by opinions for which that gentleman ought not to be answerable.

well founded, and there is an original Támul literature as well as language, it will be impossible to class the founders of it with foresters and mountaineers.* If any credit could be given to the Hindú legends, Rávan, who reigned over Ceylon and the southern part of the peninsula at the time of Ráma's invasion, was the head of a civilised and powerful state; but, by the same accounts, he was a Hindú, and a follower of Síva; which would lead us to infer that the story is much more recent than the times to which it refers, and that part of it at least is founded on the state of things when it was written, rather than when Ráma and Rávan lived.

It is probable that, after repeated invasions had opened the communication between the two countries, the first colonists from Hindostan would settle on the fruitful plains of the Carnatic and Tanjore, rather than in the bleak downs of the upper Deckan; and although the sea might not at first have influenced their choice of an abode, its neighbourhood would in time give access to traders from other nations, and would create a rapid increase of the towns along the coast.

* It is, perhaps, a proof of the establishment of Támul literature before the arrival of the Bramins, that some of its most esteemed authors are of the lowest cast, or what we call Pariars. These authors lived in comparatively modern times; but such a career would never have been thrown open to their class if the knowledge which led to it had been first imparted by the Bramins.

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Such seems to have been the case about the beginning of our æra, when Pliny and the author of the "Periplus" describe that part of India.

Even the interior must, however, have received a considerable portion of refinement at a still earlier period; for the companions of Alexander, quoted in Strabo and Arrian, while they remark the points of difference which still subsist between the inhabitants of the south and north of India, take no notice of any contrast in their manners.

Professor Wilson surmises that the civilisation of the south may possibly be extended even to ten centuries before Christ.

It has been mentioned that there are five languages spoken in the Deckan; and as they doubtless mark an equal number of early national divisions, it is proper here to describe their limits.

Drávira or Támul country.

Támul is spoken in the country called Drávira; which occupies the extreme south of the peninsula, and is bounded on the north by a line drawn from Pulicat (near Madras) to the Gháts between that and Bangalór, and so along the curve of those mountains westward to the boundary line between Malabár and Canara, which it follows to the sea so as to include Malabár.

Carnáta or Canarese country.

Part of the northern limit of Drávira forms the southern one of Carnáta, which is bounded on the west by the sea, nearly as far as Goa, and then by the western Gháts up to the neighbourhood of Cólapúr.

The northern limit will be very roughly marked by a line from Cólapúr to Bidr, and the eastern by a line from Bidr through Adóni, Anantpúr, and Nandidrúg, to the point in the Gháts formerly mentioned between Pulicat and Bangalór.

Telingána or Télugu country.

This last line forms part of the western limit of the Télugu language; which, however, must be prolonged in the same rough way to Chanda, on the river Warda. From this the northern boundary runs still more indistinctly east to Sohnpúr on the Mahánaddi. The eastern limit runs from Sohnpúr to Cicacole, and thence along the sea to Pulicat, where it meets the boundary of the Támul language.

Mahárashtra or the Maratta country.

The southern limit of the Maratta language and nation has already been described in fixing the boundaries of Carnáta and Telingána. It runs from Goa through Cólapúr and Bidr to Chanda. Its eastern line follows the Warda to the chain of hills south of the Nerbadda, called Injádri or Sátpúra.

Those hills are its northern limit, as far west as Nandód, near the Nerbadda, and its western will be shown by a line from Nandód to Damán, continued along the sea to Goa.*

Orissa or Urya country.

The Urya language is bounded on the south by that of Telingána, and on the east by the sea. On

* The establishment of a Maratta government at Nágpúr has drawn many of the nation into that part of Góndwána, and made their language general for a considerable distance round the capital.

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the west and north, a line drawn from Sohnpúr to Midnapúr in Bengal, would in some measure mark the boundary.

The large space left between Mahárashtra and Orissa is in a great part the forest tract inhabited by the Gónds. Their language, though quite distinct from the rest, being reckoned a jargon of savage mountaineers, is not counted among the five languages of the Deckan.*

Kingdoms and principalities of the Deckan.

The most ancient kingdoms are those in the extreme south, in all of which the Támul language prevailed.

Two persons of the agricultural class founded the kingdoms of Pándya and Chola.

Kingdom of Pándya.

The first of these derives its name from its founder. It is uncertain when he flourished, but there seem good grounds for thinking it was in the fifth century before Christ.

Strabo mentions an ambassador from King Pandion to Augustus; and this appears from the "Periplus" and Ptolemy to have been the hereditary appellation of the descendants of Pándya.

The Pandion of the time of the "Periplus" had possession of a part of the Malabár coast; but this must have been of short duration; the Gháts in general formed the western limit of the kingdom, which was of small extent, only occupying what we now call the districts of Madura and Tinivelly.

The seat of the government, after being twice

* In the plains towards the north of Góndwána the language is a dialect of Hindostáni.

changed, was fixed at Madura, where it was in Ptolemy's time, and where it remained till within a century of the present day.

The wars and rivalries of all the Pándyan princes were with the adjoining kingdom of Chola; with which they seem, in the first ages of the Christian æra, to have formed a union which lasted for a long time. They, however, resumed their separate sovereignty, and were a considerable state until the ninth century, when they lost their consequence, and were often tributary, though sometimes quite independent, till the last of the Náyacs (the dynasty with which the line closed) was conquered by the Nabob of Arcot in 1736.

Chola.

The history of Chola takes a wider range. Its proper limits were those of the Támul language, and Mr. Ellis thinks that it had attained to this extent at the beginning of the Christian æra; but the same gentleman is of opinion that, in the eighth century, its princes had occupied large portions of Carnáta and Telingána, and ruled over as much of the country up to the Godáveri as lay east of the hills at Nandidrúg.

They seem, however, to have been first checked, and ultimately driven back, in the twelfth century, within their ancient frontiers. In this state they continued to subsist, either as independent princes or feudatories of Vijáyanagar, until the end of the seventeenth century, when a brother of the founder of the Maratta state, who was, at that time, an officer under the Mussulman king of Bíjapúr, being

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detached to aid the last rája, supplanted him in his government, and was first of the present family of Tanjore.

The capital, for most part of their rule, was at Cánchi, or Conjeveram, west of Madras.

Chéra.

Chéra was a small state, between the territory of the Pándyas and the western sea. It comprehended Travancore, part of Malabár, and Coimbatúr. It is mentioned in Ptolemy, and may have existed at the commencement of our æra. It spread, at one time, over the greater part of Carnáta, but was subverted in the tenth century, and its lands partitioned among the surrounding states.

Kerala.

According to the mythologists, the country of Kerala, which includes Malabár and Canara, was (together with the Concan) miraculously gained from the sea by Paris Rám (the conqueror of the Cshetryas), and as miraculously peopled by him with Bramins. A more rational account states that, about the first or second century of our æra, a prince of the northern division of Kerala, introduced a colony of Bramins from Hindostan; and, as the numerous Bramins of Malabár and Canara are mostly of the five northern nations, the story seems to be founded in fact.

However the population may have been introduced, all accounts agree that Kerala was, from the first, entirely separate from the Concans, and was possessed by Bramins, who divided it into sixty-four districts, and governed it by means of a general assembly of their cast, renting the lands to men of the inferior classes.

The executive government was held by a Bramin elected every three years, and assisted by a council of four of the same tribe. In time, however, they appointed a chief of the military class, and afterwards were, perhaps, under the protection of the Pándyan kings. But, though the language of Kerala is a dialect of Támul, it does not appear ever to have been subject to the kingdom of Chola.

It is not exactly known when the northern and southern divisions separated; but, in the course of the ninth century, the southern one (Malabár) revolted from its prince, who had become a Mahometan, and broke up into many petty principalities; among the chief of which was that of the Zamorins, whom Vasco di Gama found in possession of Calicut in the end of the fifteenth century.

The northern division (Canara) seems to have established a dynasty of its own, soon after the commencement of our æra, which lasted till the twelfth century, when it was overturned by the Beláll rájas, and subsequently became subject to the rájas of Vijáyanagar.

Concan.

The Concan, in early times, seems to have been a thinly inhabited forest, from which character it has, even now, but partially escaped. I suppose the inhabitants were always Marattas.

Carnáta and Telingána. Belála Rájas.

From there being the same language and manners through all Carnáta, it seems probable that the whole was once united under a native government; but the first historical accounts describe it as divided between the Pándya and Chéra princes, and

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those of Canara (or the northern half of Kerala). It was afterwards partitioned among many petty princes, until the middle of the eleventh century, when one considerable dynasty appears to have arisen.

This was the family of Belála or Beláll, who were, or pretended to be, Rájpúts of the Yádu branch, and whose power, at one time, extended over the whole of Carnáta, together with Malabár, the Támul country, and part of Telingána. They were subverted by the Mussulmans about A.D. 1310 or 1311.

The Yádavas.

The eastern part of Telingána seems to have been from the beginning of the ninth to near the end of the eleventh century, in the hands of an obscure dynasty known by the name of Yádava.

Chalúkyas of Carnáta.

A Rájpút family of the Chalukya tribe reigned at Calián, west of Bidr, on the borders of Carnáta and Mahárashtra. They are traced with certainty by inscriptions, from the end of the tenth to the end of the twelfth century. Those inscriptions show that they possessed territory as far to the south-west as Banawási in Sunda, near the western Gháts; and, in one of them, they are styled subjugators of Chola and Guzerát. Mr. Walter Elliott, who has published a large collection of their inscriptions *, is of opinion that they possessed the whole of Mahárashtra to the Nerbadda. Professor Wilson thinks that they were also superior lords of the west of Telingána, a prince of which (probably

* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iv. p. 1.

their feudatory) defeated the Chola king *: and this is, probably, the conquest alluded to in the inscription.

The same pretension with respect to Guzerát probably originated in the acquisition (already mentioned) of that country by a prince of this house through his marriage with the heiress of the Cháura family.

The last king of the race was deposed by his minister, who, in his turn, was assassinated by some fanatics of the Lingáyet sect, which was then rising into notice. The kingdom fell into the hands of the Yádus of Deogíri. †

Chalukyas, of Calinga.

Another branch of the tribe of Chalukya, perhaps connected with those of Calián, ruled over Calinga, which is the eastern portion of Telingána, extending along the sea from Drávira to Orissa.

Their dynasty certainly lasted through the whole of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and, perhaps, began two centuries earlier. It was greatly reduced by the Ganapati kings of Andra, and finally subverted by the rájas of Cattac.

Kings of Andra.

The kings of Andra, whose capital was Varangúl (about 80 miles north-east of Heiderábád), are alleged to have been connected with the Andra race in Magada; but it must have been by country only; for Andra is not the name of a family, but of all the inland part of Telingána. ‡

* Introduction to the Mackenzie Papers, p. cxxix.

† Mr. Elliot, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 17.

‡ Introduction to the Mackenzie Papers, p. cxxii.

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The records of the inhabitants mention Vicrama and Sálivâhana among the earliest monarchs: after these they place the Chola rájas; who were succeeded, they think, about 515 A. D., by a race called Yávans, who were nine in number, and reigned, as they say, for 458 years, till A. D. 953. About this time, the same records make the family of Ganapati rájas begin; but the first authentic mention of them, and, probably, their first rise to consequence, was in the end of the eleventh century, under Kakati, from whom the whole dynasty is sometimes named. He has been mentioned as an officer or feudatory of the Chalukyas, and as having gained victories over the Chola kings. Their greatest power was about the end of the thirteenth century, when the local traditions represent them as possessed of the whole of the peninsula south of the Godáveri. Professor Wilson, however, limits them to the portion between the fifteenth and eighteenth degrees of latitude.

In 1332 their capital was taken, and their importance, if not their independence, destroyed, by a Mahometan army from Delhi. At one time, subsequent to this, they seem to have been tributary to Orissa. They merged, at last, in the Mussulman kingdom of Golconda.

Orissa.

The history of Orissa, like all others in the Deckan, begins with princes connected with the "Mahá Bhárat." It then goes on with a confused history (much resembling that of the commencement of the Andra kings), in which Vicramadítya

and Sáliváhana are made to occupy the country in succession; and in which repeated invasions of Yávans from Delhi, from a country called Bábul (supposed to mean Persia), from Cashmír, and from Sind, are represented as having taken place between the sixth century before Christ and the fourth century after Christ.

The last invasion was from the sea, and in it the Yávans were successful, and kept possession of Orissa for 146 years.

The natives suppose these Yávans to be Mussulmans; and, with similar absurdity, describe two invasions of troops of that persuasion under Imárat Khán and another Khán, as taking place about five centuries before Christ. Some will prefer applying the story to Seleucus, or the Bactrian Greeks; but it is evident that the whole is a jumble of such history and mythology as the author was acquainted with, put together without the slightest knowledge of geography or chronology.*

The Yávans were expelled by Yáyáti Kesari in A.D. 473.

This Mr. Stirling justly considers as the first glimmering of authentic history. Thirty-five rájas of the Kesari family follow in a period of 650 years, until A.D. 1131, when their capital was taken

* The same remark applies to the Yávans of Telingána, who, by the bye, have all Shanscrit names. Dr. Buchanan (vol. iii. pp. 97. 112.) is surprised to find a dynasty of Yávans at Anagundi on the Tumbadra in the eighth and ninth centuries: this, however, is not physically impossible, like the others; for the first Arab invasion was in the seventh century after Christ.

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by a prince of the house of Ganga Vansa, whose dynasty occupied the throne till near the Mahometan conquest. Mr. Stirling supposes this family to have come from Telingána; but Professor Wilson * proves, from an inscription, that they were rájas of a country on the Ganges, answering to what is now Tamlúk and Midnapúr; and that their first invasion was at the end of the eleventh century of our æra, some years before the final conquest just mentioned.

Their greatest internal prosperity and improvement seems to have been towards the end of the twelfth century; and for several reigns on each side of that epoch they claim extensive conquests, especially to the south.

These are rendered highly improbable by the flourishing state of the Chalukya and Andra governments during that period. In the middle of the fifteenth century, however, the government of Orissa had sent armies as far as Conjeveram, near Madras; and, about the same time, their rája, according to Ferishta, advanced to the neighbourhood of Bidr to assist the Hindú princes of those parts against the Mussulmans.

Before these last events, the Ganga Vansa had been succeeded by a Rájpút family, of the race of the sun; and after performing some other brilliant exploits, and suffering invasions from the Mussulmans, both in Bengal and the Deckan, the govern-

* Preface to the Mackenzie Papers, p. cxxxviii. Their name means "race of the Ganges."

ment fell into confusion, was seized on by a Telinga chief in 1550, and, ultimately, was annexed to the Mogul empire, by Akber, in 1578.*

Mahárashtra or Maratta country.

From the great extent of the country through which the Maratta language is spoken, and from its situation on the frontier of the Deckan, one would expect it to be the first noticed and the most distinguished of the divisions of the peninsula: yet we only possess two historical facts regarding it until the time of the Mussulmans; and, in those, the name of Mahárashtra is never once mentioned.

Tagara.

After the fables regarding Ráma, whose retreat was near the source of the Godáveri, the first fact we hear of is the existence of Tagara, which was a great emporium in the second century, is mentioned in inscriptions as a celebrated place in the twelfth century, and is still well known by name, though its position is forgotten.

It is mentioned by the author of the "Periplus," but its site is fixed with so little precision, that we can only guess it to have lain within something more than 100 miles in a direction to the east of Páitan on the Godáveri. It is said to have been a very great city, and to have been one of the two principal marts of Dachanabades †, a country so called from Dachan, which (says the author) is the word for south in the native language. The other

* The whole of the account of Orissa, where not otherwise specified, is taken from a paper of Mr. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 254.

† Dakshinapatha is the Shanscrit name for the Deckan

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mart is Plithana. Neither is mentioned as a capital.*

* We have scarcely any ground to go on in fixing these places. The following are the words of the "Periplus:"—"Of those in Dachanabades itself, two very distinguished marts attract notice, lying twenty days' journey to the south from Barygaza. About ten days' journey towards the east from this is the other, Tagara, a very great city. [Goods] are brought down from them on carts, and over very great ascents, to Barygaza; from Plithana many onyx stones, and from Tagara ordinary linen, &c." It is evident from this, that the two towns are Plithana and Tagara; and as Tagara is *the other*, there must have been one first mentioned, or intended to be mentioned, and that one must have been Plithana: the mode of expression, no doubt, is inaccurate and confused. If this interpretation be correct, the first step to be taken is to ascertain the position of Plithana, which must be somewhere to the southward of Barygaza, distant twenty days' journey, and above the Gháts. Barygaza is admitted to be Báróch. A day's journey has been taken by Colonel Wilford at eleven miles, which (after allowing for horizontal distance) does not differ greatly from that allowed by Rennell to armies with all their incumbrances. 220 miles to the southward of Báróch is therefore the point to be sought for; and the first step will naturally be, to look for some place within that circuit the name of which resembles Plithana. None such is to be found. Colonel Wilford, indeed, mentions a place called Pultanah, on the Godáveri; but nobody else has heard of it, and the probability is, that he meant Phultámba. If so, the resemblance ceases at once; for Phultámba would be written in Greek Φουλταμϐα, instead of Πλιθανα; and the supposition is otherwise untenable, as Phultámba, by a circuitous road, is only seventeen days' journey from Báróch. We are therefore left to seek for a Plithana; but Colonel Wilford, I conceive, has brought us into the right neighbourhood, and has assisted us by an ingenious conjecture, though intended for another purpose. He says that Ptolemy has mistaken Plithana (ΠΛΙΘΑΝΑ) for Páithana (ΠΑΙΘΑΝΑ); and I would contend that, on the contrary, the copyist of the "Periplus" has changed Páithana into Plithana (the more likely as the name only occurs once); and that the real

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Sálivâhana.

Wherever Tagara was situated, it afterwards became the capital of a line of kings of the Rájpút family of Silár, with whom the ruler of Calián near Bombay, in the eleventh century, and of Parnála near Cólapúr, in the twelfth, were proud to boast of their connection.*

The next fact relating to the Maratta country is the reign of Sáliváhana, whose æra begins from A. D. 77. Sáliváhana seems to have been a powerful monarch; yet scarcely one circumstance of his history has been preserved in an authentic or even credible form.

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name of the first emporium is Páitan, a city on the Godáveri, between twenty and twenty-one days' journey (230 miles) from Báróch, and distinguished as the capital of the great monarch Sáliváhana. As this king flourished towards the end of the first century (A.D. 77), it would be strange if his royal residence had become obscure by the middle of the second; and even if the distance did not agree so well, we should be tempted to fix on *it* as one of the great marts of the Deckan. With regard to Tagara, we remain in total uncertainty. It cannot possibly be Deogíri (Doulatabad); because, even if we allow Phultámba to be Plithana, Doulatabad is within three days and a half or four days' journey, instead of ten; nor is there any situation to be found for Plithana so as to be twenty days' journey from Báróch and ten from Doulatabad, except near Púna, which, being within seventy miles of the sea, would never have sent its produce twenty days' journey to Báróch. We need have the less reluctance in giving up Deogíri, as that place is never spoken of as a city until more than 1000 years after the date generally assigned to the "Periplus." If Plithana be Páitan, Tagara must have lain ten days' further east, and probably on the Godáveri; but that Plithana *is* Páitan rests on a mere conjecture.

* See inscriptions, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 357., and *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 391.

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He is said to have been the son of a potter; to have headed an insurrection, overturned a dynasty, and to have established his capital at Páitan, on the Godáveri. He is said also to have conquered the famous Vicramadítya, king of Málwa, and to have founded an extensive empire.* The first of these assertions, in reference to Vicramadítya himself, is impossible, as there is 135 years between the æras of the two princes; and no war with any subsequent king of Málwa is mentioned. His empire was probably in the Deckan, where his name is still well known, and his æra still that in ordinary use. After this the history of Mahárashtra breaks off, and (except by the inscriptions of the petty princes of Calián and Pernála) we hear no more of that country till the beginning of the twelfth century, when a family of Yádus, perhaps a branch of that of Bellál, became rájas of Deogíri.† In A. D. 1294, Mahárashtra was invaded by the Mussulmans from Delhi. A rája of the race of Yádu still reigned at Deogíri. He was rendered tributary either then or in 1306; and his capital was taken and his kingdom subverted in A. D. 1317.

Deogíri.

About this time the Mussulman writers begin to mention the Marattas by name. It is probable that strangers, on entering the Deckan, called the first country they came to by that general designation, and did not distinguish the different nations

* Grant Duff's History of the Marattas, vol. i. p. 26.

† Wilson's Preface to the Mackenzie Papers, p. cxxx.

by name till they had met with more than one. It is probable, also, that there was little in the Marattas to attract notice. If they had been for any time under one great monarchy, we should have heard of it, as of the other Deckan states; and they would, probably, like the others so circumstanced, have had a peculiar literature and civilisation of their own. But they are still remarkably deficient both in native authors and in refinement; and what polish they have seems borrowed from the Mussulmans, rather than formed by Hindús.

On the other hand, their cave temples argue a great and long-continued application of skill and power; and those of Ellóra attracted the attention of the Mussulmans in their very first invasions.

The celebrity of the Marattas was reserved for recent times, when they were destined to act a greater part than all other Hindú nations, and to make a nearer approach to universal sovereignty than any of those to whom modern writers have ascribed the enjoyment of the empire of India.

# APPENDICES

TO

## THE PRECEDING FOUR BOOKS.

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## APPENDIX I.

### ON THE AGE OF MENU AND OF THE VÉDAS.

APPEND. I.

THE value of Menu's Code, as a picture of the state of society, depends entirely on its having been written in ancient times, as it pretends.

Age of the Védas.

Before settling its date, it is necessary to endeavour to fix that of the Védas, to which it so constantly refers. From the manner in which it speaks of those sacred poems we may conclude that they had long existed in such a form as to render them of undisputed authority, and binding on the conscience of all Hindús.

Most of the hymns composing the Védas are in a language so rugged as to prove that they were written before that of the other sacred writings was completely formed; while some, though antiquated, are within the pale of the polished Shanscrit. There must, therefore, have been a considerable interval between the composition of the greater part, and the compilation of the whole. It is of the compilation alone that we can hope to ascertain the age.

Sir William Jones attempts to fix the date of the composition of the Yajur Véda by counting the lives of forty sages, through whom its doctrines were transmitted, from the time of Parasara; whose epoch, again, is fixed by a

celestial observation: but his reasoning is not convincing. He supposes the Yajur Véda to have been written in 1580 before Christ. The completion of the compilation he fixes in the twelfth century before Christ; and all the other European writers who have examined the question, fix the age of the compiler, Vyása, between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries before Christ. The Hindús themselves unanimously declare him to have lived at least 3001 years before Christ.

The superior accuracy of the opinion held by the Europeans appears to be put out of all doubt by a passage discovered by Mr. Colebrooke. In every Véda there is a sort of astronomical treatise, the object of which is to explain the adjustment of the calendar, for the purpose of fixing the proper periods for the performance of religious duties. There can be little doubt that the last editor of those treatises would avail himself of the observations which were most relied on when he wrote, and would explain them by means of the computation of time most intelligible to his readers. Now the measure of time employed in those treatises is itself a proof of their antiquity, for it is a cycle of five years of lunar months, with awkward divisions, intercalations, and other corrections, which show it to contain the rudiments of the calendar which now, after successive corrections, is received by the Hindús throughout India; but the decisive argument is, that the place assigned to the solstitial points in the treatises (which is given in detail by Mr. Colebrooke) is that in which those points were situated in the fourteenth century before Christ.* Mr. Colebrooke's interpretation of this passage has never, I believe, been called in question; and it would be difficult to find any grounds for suspecting the genuineness of the text itself. The ancient form of the calendar is beyond the invention

* Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. p. 489.

of a Hindú forger, and there could be no motive to coin a passage, fixing in the fourteenth century before Christ, a work which all Hindús assign to the thirty-first century of the same æra.

In an essay previously written *, Mr. Colebrooke had shown from another passage in the Védas, that the correspondence of seasons with months, as there stated, indicated a position of the cardinal points similar to that which has just been mentioned; and, on that ground, he had fixed the compilation of the Védas at the same period, which he afterwards ascertained by more direct proof.

Age of the Institutes.

From the age of the Védas, thus fixed, we must endeavour to discover that of Menu's Code. Sir William Jones† examines the difference in the dialect of those two compositions; and from the time occupied by a corresponding change in the Latin language, he infers that the Code of Menu must have been written 300 years after the compilation of the Védas. This reasoning is not satisfactory; because there is no ground for believing that all languages proceed at the same uniform rate in the progress of refinement. All that can be assumed is, that a considerable period must have elapsed between the epochs at which the ruder and more refined idioms were in use. The next ground for conjecturing the date of Menu's Code rests on the difference between the law and manners there recorded, and those of modern times. This will be shown to be considerable; and from the proportion of the changes which will also be shown to have taken place before the invasion of Alexander we may infer that a long time had passed between the promulgation of the Code and the latter period. On a combination of these data, we may perhaps be allowed to fix the age

* Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. p. 283.

† Preface to Menu, p. 6.

of the supposed Menu, very loosely, at some time about half way between Alexander (in the fourth century before Christ), and the Védas (in the fourteenth).

This would make the author of the Code live about 900 years before Christ.

That the Code is very ancient is proved by the difference of religion and manners from those of present times, no less than by the obsolete style.

That these are not disguises assumed to conceal a modern forgery appears from the difficulty with which consistency could be kept up, especially when we have the means of checking it by the accounts of the Greeks, and from the absence of all motive for forgery, which, of itself, is perhaps conclusive.

A Bramin, forging a code, would make it support the system established in his time, unless he were a reformer, in which case he would introduce texts favourable to his new doctrines; but neither would pass over the most popular innovations in absolute silence, nor yet inculcate practices repugnant to modern notions.

Yet the religion of Menu is that of the Védas. Ráma, Crishna, and other favourite gods of more recent times, are not mentioned either with reverence or with disapprobation, nor are the controversies hinted at to which those and other new doctrines gave rise. There is no mention of regular orders, or of the self-immolation of widows. Bramins eat beef and flesh of all kinds, and intermarry with women of inferior casts, besides various other practices repulsive to modern Hindús, which are the less suspicious because they are minute.

These are all the grounds on which we can guess at the age of this Code. That of Menu himself is of no consequence, since his appearance is merely dramatic, like that of Crishna in the "Bhágwat Gíta," or of the speakers in

Plato's or Cicero's dialogues. No hint is given as to the real compiler, nor is there any clue to the date of the ancient commentator Cullúca. From his endeavouring to gloss over and to explain away some doctrines of Menu, it is evident that opinion had already begun to change in his time; but as many commentators, and some of very ancient date *, speak of the rules of Menu as applicable to the good ages only, and not extending to their time, and as such a limitation never once occurs to Cullúca, we must conclude that commentator, though a good deal later than the original author, to have lived long before the other jurists whose opinions have just been alluded to.

On a careful perusal of the Code, there appears nothing inconsistent with the age attributed to it. It may, perhaps, be said that the very formation of a code, especially in so methodical a manner, is unlike ancient times; and it is certain that a people must have subsisted for some time, and must have established laws and customs, before it could frame a code. But the Greeks, and other nations, whose history we know, formed codes at a comparatively earlier period of their national existence; and although the arrangement as well as the subjects of Menu's Code show considerable civilisation, yet this is no proof of recent origin, more than rudeness is of antiquity. The Romans were more polished 2000 years ago than the Esquimaux are now, or perhaps may be 2000 years hence.

* See note at the end of Sir W. Jones's translation.

# APPENDIX II.

## ON CHANGES IN CAST.

APPEND. II.

Doubts regarding the foreign descent of any of the Ráj-pút tribes.

Among the changes in cast, I have not noticed one which, if proved, is of much greater importance than all the rest. I allude to the admission of a body of Scythians into the Cshetrya class, which is asserted by Colonel Tod*, and in part acceded to by a very able writer in the "Oriental Magazine."† Colonel Tod is entitled to every respect, on account of his zeal for Oriental knowledge, and the light he has thrown on a most interesting country, almost unknown till his time; and the anonymous writer is so evidently a master of his subject, that it is possible he may be familiar with instances unknown to me of the admission of foreigners into Hindú casts. Unless this be the case, however, I am obliged to differ from the opinion advanced, and can only show my estimation of those who maintain it, by assigning my reasons at length. If the supposition be, that the whole Hindú people sprang from the same root with the Scythians, before those nations had assumed their distinctive peculiarities, I shall not conceive myself called on to discuss the question; but if such an union is said to have taken place within the historic period, I shall be inclined to doubt the fact. The admission of strangers into any of the twice-born classes was a thing never contemplated by Menu, and could not have taken place within the period to which the records of his time extended. No trace of

* History of Rajasthan, vol. i.

† Vol. iv. p. 33., and vol. viii. p. 19.

the alleged amalgamation remained in Alexander's time; for though he and his followers visited India after having spent two years in Scythia, they discovered no resemblance between any parts of those nations. The union must therefore have taken place within a century or two before our æra, or at some later period. This is the supposition on which Colonel Tod has gone in some places, though in others he mentions Scythian immigrations in the sixth century before Christ, and others at more remote periods.

That there were Scythian irruptions into India before those of the Moguls under Chengíz Khán, is so probable, that the slightest evidence would induce us to believe them to have occurred; and we may be satisfied with the proofs afforded us that the Scythians, after conquering Bactria, brought part of India under their dominion; but the admission of a body of foreigners into the proudest of the Hindú classes, and that after the line had been as completely drawn as it was in the Code of Menu, is so difficult to imagine, that the most direct and clear proofs are necessary to substantiate it. Now, what are the proofs?

1. That four of the Rájpút tribes have a fable about their descent, from which, if all Hindú fables had a meaning, we might deduce that they came from the west, and that they did not know their real origin.

2. That some of the Rájpúts certainly did come from the west of the Indus.

3. That the religion and manners of the Rájpúts resemble those of the Scythians.

4. That the names of some of the Rájpút tribes are Scythian.

5. That there were, by ancient authorities, Indo-Scythians on the Lower Indus in the second century.

6. That there were white Huns in Upper India in the time of Cosmas Indico Pleustes (sixth century).

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7. That De Guignes mentions, on Chinese authorities, the conquest of the country on the Indus by a body of Yu-chi or Getæ, and that there are still Jits on both sides of that river.

1. The first of these arguments is not given as conclusive; and it is obvious that native tribes, as well as foreign, might be ignorant of their pedigree, or might wish to improve it by a fable, even if known. The scene of the fable carries us no nearer to Scythia than Ábu, in the north of Guzerát; and few, if any, of the tribes which Colonel Tod describes as Scythians belong to the *four* to whom only it applies.

2. The great tribe of Yádu, which is the principal, perhaps the only one, which came from beyond the Indus, is the tribe of Crishna, and of the purest Hindú descent. There is a story of their having crossed to the west of the Indus after the death of Crishna. One division (the Sama) certainly came from the west, in the seventh or eighth century, but they were Hindús before they crossed the Indus; and many of those who still remain on the west, though now Mahometans, are allowed to be of Hindú descent.* Alexander found two bodies of Indians west of the Indus,—one in Paropamisus and one near the sea; and, though both were small and unconnected, yet the last-mentioned alone is sufficient to account for all the immigrations of Rájpúts into India, without supposing aid from Scythia.

3. If the religion and manners of any of the Rájpúts resemble those of the Scythians, they incomparably more closely resemble those of the Hindús. Their language also is Hindú, without a Scythian word (as far as has yet been asserted). I have not heard of any part of their

* Tod, vol. i. p. 85.; Pottinger, pp. 392, 393.; Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 122.

religion, either, that is not purely Hindú. In fact, all the points in which they are said to resemble the Scythians are common to all the Rájpúts without exception, and most of them to the whole Hindú race. On the other hand, the points selected as specimens of Scythian manners are for the most part common to all rude nations. Many, indeed, are expressly brought forward as Scandinavian or German; although an identity of manners between those nations and the eastern Scythians is still to be proved, even supposing their common origin.

If, instead of searching for minute points of resemblance, we compare the general character of the two nations, it is impossible to imagine any two things less alike.

The Scythian is short, square built, and sinewy, with a broad face, high cheek bones, and long narrow eyes, the outer angles of which point upwards. His home is a tent; his occupation, pasturage; his food, flesh, cheese, and other productions of his flocks; his dress is of skins or wool; his habits are active, hardy, roving, and restless. The Rájpút, again, is tall, comely, loosely built, and, when not excited, languid and lazy. He is lodged in a house, and clad in thin, showy, fluttering garments; he lives on grain, is devoted to the possession of land, never moves but from necessity, and, though often in or near the desert, he never engages in the care of flocks and herds, which is left to inferior classes.

4. Resemblances of name, unless numerous and supported by other circumstances, are the very lowest sort of evidence; yet, in this case, we have hardly even them. Except Jit, which will be adverted to, the strongest resemblance is in the name of a now obscure tribe called Hún to that of the horde which the Romans called Huns; or to that of the great nation of the Túrks, once called by the Chinese Hien-yun or Hiong-nou. The Húns, though

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now almost extinct, were once of some consequence, being mentioned in some ancient inscriptions; but there is nothing besides their name to connect them either with the Huns or the Hiong-nou. It might seem an argument against the Hindú origin of the Rájpúts, that the names of few of their tribes are explainable in Shanscrit. But are they explainable in any Tartar language? and are all names confessedly Hindú capable of explanation?

Scythian settlers in India.

5. We may admit, without hesitation, that there were Scythians on the Indus in the second century, but it is not apparent how this advances us a single step towards their transformation into Rájpúts: there have long been Persians and Afgháns and English in India, but none of them have found a place among the native tribes.

6. Cosmas, a mere mariner, was not likely to be accurate in information about the upper parts of India; and the white Huns (according to De Guignes*) were Túrks, whose capital was Órganj or Khíva: but his evidence, if admitted, only goes to prove that the name of Hun was known in Upper India; and, along with that, it proves that up to the sixth century the people who bore it had not merged in the Rájpúts.

7. The account of De Guignes has every appearance of truth. It not only explains the origin of the Scythians on the Indus, but shows us what became of them, and affords the best proof that they were not swallowed up in any of the Hindú classes.† The people called Yue-chi by the Chinese, Jits by the Tartars, and Getes or Getæ by some of our writers, were a considerable nation in the centre of Tartary as late as the time of Tamerlane. In

* Vol. ii. p. 325.

† De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. ii. p. 41.; but still more, *Academie des Inscriptions*, vol. xxv., with the annexed paper by D'Anville.

the second century before Christ, they were driven from their original seats on the borders of China by the Hiong-nou, with whom they had always been in enmity. About 126 B. C. a division of them conquered Khorásán in Persia; and about the same time the Sú, another tribe whom they had dislodged in an early part of their advance, took Bactria from the Greeks. In the first years of the Christian æra, the Yue-chi came from some of their conquests in Persia into the country on the Indus, which is correctly described by the Chinese historians. This portion of them is represented to have settled there; and accordingly, when Tamerlane (who was accustomed to fight the Jits in Tartary) arived at the Indus, he recognised his old antagonists in their distant colony.* They still bear the name of Jits or Jats†, and are still numerous on both sides of the Indus, forming the peasantry of the Panjáb, the Rájpút country, Sind, and the east of Belóchistán; and, in most places, professing the Mussulman religion.

The only objection to the Getic origin of the Jats is, that they are included in *some* lists of the Rájpút tribes, and so enrolled among pure Hindús; but Colonel Tod, from whom we learn the fact, in a great measure destroys the effect of it, by stating‡ that, though their name is in the list, they are never considered as Rájpúts, and that no Rájpút would intermarry with them. In another place§, he observes that (except for one very ambiguous rite) they were "utter aliens to the Hindú theocracy."

It is a more natural way of connecting the immigration of Rájpúts from the west with the invasion of the Getæ, to

* Sherf u dín, quoted by De Guignes, *Academie des Inscriptions*, vol. xxv. p. 32.

† Not *Játs*, which is the name of a tribe near Agra, not now under discussion.

‡ Vol. i. p. 106.

§ Vol. ii. 180.

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suppose that part of the tribes who are recorded to have crossed the Indus at an early period, and who probably were those found in the south by Alexander, were dislodged by the irruption from Scythia, and driven back to their ancient seats to join their brethren, from whom, in religion and cast, they had never separated.

My conclusion, therefore, is, that the Jats may be of Scythian descent, but that the Rájpúts are all pure Hindús.

# APPENDIX III.

## ON THE GREEK ACCOUNTS OF INDIA.

APPEND. III.

BEFORE we examine the account of India given by the Greeks, it is necessary to ascertain of what country they speak when they make use of that name.

India bounded on the west by the river Indus.

Most of the writers about Alexander call the inhabitants of the hilly region to the south of the main ridge of Caucasus and near the Indus, Indians; and also mention another Indian tribe or nation, who inhabited the sea-shore on the western side of the Indus. Each of those two tribes occupied a territory stretching for 150 miles west from the river, but narrow from north to south. A great tract of country lay between their territories, and was inhabited by people foreign to their race. Close to the Indus, however, especially on the lower part of its course, there were other Indian tribes, though less considerable than those two.

The Indians on the sea-shore were named Oritæ and Arabitæ, and are recognised by Major Rennell as the people called Asiatic Ethiopians by Herodotus. Their country was the narrow tract between the mountains of Belochistán and the sea, separated from Mékrán on the west by the range of hills which form Cape Arboo, and on which still stands the famous Hindú temple of Hingléz.

The Indians whom Herodotus includes within the satrapies of Darius are, probably, the more northern ones in the mountains.* It is proved by Major Rennell that his

* Thalia, 101, 102.

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knowledge of India did not reach beyond the desert east of the Indus *; and he seems to have had no conception of the extent of the country, and no clear notion of the portion of it which had been subjected to Persia.† The other Greek writers, though they speak of Indians beyond the Indus, strictly limit *India* to the eastern side of that river. Arrian, who has called the mountaineers Indians, from the place where Alexander entered Paropamisus, yet when he comes to the Indus says, "This river Alexander crossed at daybreak with his army into the land of the Indians;" and immediately begins a description of the people of that country.‡

In the course of this description he again explicitly declares that the Indus is the western boundary of India from the mountains to the sea.§

In his "Indica," also, he desires his reader to consider *that*

* Geography of Herodotus, p. 309.

† The Indians east of the Indus constantly maintained to the followers of Alexander that they had never before been invaded (by human conquerors at least); an assertion which they could not have ventured if they had just been delivered from the yoke of Persia. Arrian, also, in discussing the alleged invasions of Bacchus, Hercules, Sesostris, Semiramis, and Cyrus, denies them all, except the mythological ones; and Strabo denies even those, adding that the Persians hired mercenaries from India, but never invaded it. (Arrian, *Indica*, 8, 9.; Strabo, lib. xv., near the beginning. See also Diodorus, lib. ii. p. 123., edition of 1604.)

I have not been able to discover the grounds on which it is sometimes said that the Persians were in possession of India as far as the Jamna or Ganges. The weighty opinion of Major Rennell (which, however, applies only to the Panjáb) rests on the single argument of the great tribute said to have been paid by the Indians, which he himself proves to have been overstated. (Geography of Herodotus, p. 305.)

‡ Expeditio Alexandri, lib. v. cap. 4.

§ Ibid. lib. v. cap. 6.

only as India which lies east of the Indus, and those who inhabit that country as the Indians of whom he is about to speak.*

Strabo, the most critical and judicious of all the writers on India, is as decided in pronouncing the Indus to be the western limit of India from the mountains to the sea; and quotes Eratosthenes as supporting his opinion.†

Pliny, indeed, states that some consider the four satrapies of Gedrosia, Arachosia, Aria, and Paropamisus to belong to India; but this would include about two thirds of Persia.

The Shanscrit writers confirm the opinion of the Greeks, regarding the Indus as the western boundary of their country, and classing the nations beyond it with the Yávanas and other barbarians. There is, indeed, a universally acknowledged tradition, that no Hindú ought to cross that river‡; and its inconsistency with the practice even of early times is a proof of its great antiquity.

Indians to the west of the Indus.

It is clear, therefore, that the Indians beyond the Indus were few and detached; and we will now see what account

* Indica, cap. ii., — "But the part from the Indus towards the East, let that be India, and let those [who inhabit it] be the Indians."

† Strabo, lib. xv. p. 473, 474., ed. 1587. In lib. xv. p. 497., he again mentions the Indus as the eastern boundary of Persia.

‡ See a verse on this subject quoted in Colonel Wilford's Essay on Caucasus (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 585.) The Colonel, who is anxious to extend the early possessions of the Hindús, endeavours to prove that the Indus meant in this verse is the river of Káma (one of its tributary streams); that the main Indus may have changed its bed; that the prohibition was only against *crossing* the Indus, and not against passing to the other side by going round its source; and finally, that, in modern times, the prohibition is disregarded: but he never denies the existence of the restriction, or asserts that it was not at one time attended to.

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is given of them by the ancients, beginning our survey from the north.

Arrian, in the commencement of his "Indica," mentions the Assaceni and the Astaceni as Indian nations in the mountains between the Indus and the Cophenes; but he distinguishes them from the other Indians as being less in size and fairer in complexion. He excludes them (as has been shown) from his general description of the Indians; and neither in his "Expedition of Alexander," nor in his "Indica," does he allude to Bramins among them, or mention any thing in their customs of a marked Hindú character. He says that they had been subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally to the Persians. It does not appear from Arrian that there were any Indians to the south of the Cophenes (or river of Cábul), and it might be inferred from Strabo that there were none between the Paropamisadæ and the Oritæ until after Alexander's time *; but as Arrian mentions other tribes on the lower Indus, it is probable that Strabo spoke generally of the two territories, and did not mean to deny the residence of small bodies.

The Oritæ, according to Arrian †, were an Indian nation, who extended for about 150 miles parallel to the sea. They wore the dress and arms of the other Indians, but differed from them in language and manners.

* Lib. xv. p. 474. The passage states, from Eratosthenes, that at the time of Alexander's invasion the Indus was the boundary of India and Ariana, and that the Persians possessed all the country to the west of the river; but that, afterwards, the Indians received a considerable part of Persia from the Macedonians. He explains this transfer more particularly in page 498., where he says that Alexander took this country from the Persians, and kept it to himself, but that Seleucus subsequently ceded it to Sandracottus.

† Exped. Alexand., lib. vi. cap. xxi.; Indica, cap. xxv.

They (those near the Indus at least) must have been essentially Indian; for Sambus, the chief of the branch of hills which run down to the river in the north of Sind, is represented as being much under the influence of the Bramins.

It will throw some light on the tribes that occupied the west bank of the Indus, in former times, to point out its present inhabitants.

The mountains under Caucasus, between the point where it is crossed by the continuation of Mount Imaus, which forms the range of Solimán, and the Indus, are inhabited by a people of Indian descent, now subject to Afghán tribes, who have conquered the territory in comparatively recent times.* The upper part of the mountains farther north is possessed by the Cáfirs, another nation, who, from the close connection between their language and Shanscrit, appear to be of the Indian race. Their religion, however, though idolatrous, has no resemblance whatever to that of the Hindús.

Throughout the whole of *the plain* to the west of the Indus, from the range of Caucasus to the sea, the greater part of the original population speaks an Indian dialect, and is looked on as Indian.† The hills which bound that plain on the west are every where held by tribes of a different origin. Some of the so-called Indians are Hindús, but the greater part are converts to the Mahometan religion. The above description comprehends the whole of the country of the ancient Oritæ.

* This is somewhat less than was occupied by the Indians described by Arrian, who extended west to the Cophenes, probably the river of Panjshír, north of Cábul.

† Among these tribes are the Jats, whose possible descent from the Getæ has been discussed in another place, but who are now classed with the Indians by all their western neighbours.

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If from a general view of these accounts, ancient and modern, we were to speculate on the first settlement of the people to whom they relate, it might, perhaps, appear not improbable that the Indians in the northern mountains were of the same race as the Hindús, but never converted to the Braminical religion, and that they may have occupied their present seats before the period at which the first light breaks on the history of their brethren in the plains: but it is enough to allude to so vague a conjecture. The Indian races in the plains probably crossed from India at different periods. Notwithstanding the religious prohibition and the testimony of Strabo, it is difficult to believe that the easy communication afforded by a navigable river would not lead the inhabitants of whichever neighbouring country was first peopled and civilised to spread over both banks. I am therefore led to think the occupation by the Indians began very early, the neighbouring countries on the western side being scarcely peopled even now. The emigration towards the mouth of the Indus, which seems to have been more extensive than elsewhere, may possibly be that alluded to in the ancient legends about the flight of Crishna's family. A branch of his tribe certainly came from the west into Sind ten centuries ago; and other divisions, still retaining their religion and cast, have passed over into Guzerát in later times.*

To remove some doubts about the limits of the Indian nations on the west of the Indus, it is desirable to advert

* Colonel Tod, vol. i. 85, 86.; vol. ii. 220. (note), 312. Captain M'Murdo, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 219.

In speaking of the Hindús above, I do not allude to the modern emigrants now found scattered through the countries on the west of the Indus as far as Moscow; neither do I discuss what other settlements of that people may have been effected between the time of Alexander and the present day.

to a part of Alexander's route through the adjoining countries.

Alexander set out from Artachoana (which seems to be admitted to be Herát), and proceeded in pursuit of one of the murderers of Darius to the royal city of the Zarangæi, which is recognised in Zarang, an ancient name for the capital of Sístán. He thence directed his march towards Bactria, and on his way received the submission of the Drangæ, the Gedrosians, and the Arachotians. He then came to the Indians bordering on the Arachotians. Through *all* these nations he suffered much from snow and want of provisions. He next proceeded to Caucasus, at the foot of which he founded Alexandria, and afterwards crossed the mountains into Bactria.*

The Drangæ are probably the same as the Zarangæ: Arachotia is explained by Strabo † to extend to the Indus; and Gedrosia certainly lay along the sea. There are two ways from Sístán to Bactria; one by Herát, and the other by the pass of Hindú Cúsh, north of Cábul, the mountains between those points being impassable, especially in winter, when this march took place. ‡ Alexander took the eastern road; and if he had marched direct to Bactria, as might be supposed from the preceding passage, he could have met with no snow at any time of the year, until he got a good deal to the east of Candahar, and he must have left Gedrosia very far to his right. It is possible, therefore, (especially as the murderer of whom he was in pursuit was made over to him *by the Indians* §,) that he continued his pursuit through Shorábak and the valley

* Arrian, lib. iii. cap. xxviii.

† Lib. xi. p. 355., edition of 1587.

‡ See Clinton's *Fasti*, B. C. 330. Darius was killed in July, and Alexander reached Bactria in spring.

§ Arrian, *ubi supra*.

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of Bolán (the route adopted by Mr. Conolly*); and that the Indians near the Arachotians may have been about Dáder, which, although at a distance from the Indus, is on the plain of that river, and probably was then, as it is now, inhabited by an Indian race. From this place, his journey to Mount Caucasus would have lain through a country as sterile, and at that season as cold, as Caucasus itself. It is equally probable, however, that Alexander did not extend his journey so far to the south; and, in that case, the Indians would be (as they are assumed to be by Curtius†) those called Paropamisadæ immediately under Mount Caucasus, within or near whose boundary Alexandria certainly was built.‡ The vicinity of this people shows that Alexandria could not have been farther west than Cábul, which, indeed, is also proved by the fact of Alexander's returning to it on his way from Bactria *to India*.§ He took seventeen days to cross Caucàsus, according to Curtius; fifteen, according to Strabo, from Alexandria to Ádraspa, a city in Bactriana; and ten to cross the mountains in returning, according to Arrian. Captain Burnes, with none of the incumbrances of an army, took twelve days to cross the mountains on the road from Cábul to Balkh, which is comparatively shorter and easier than any more western pass. As far as this site for Alexandria, rather than one further west, we are borne out by the high authority of Major Rennell; but that author (the greatest of English geographers), from the imperfect information

* Since made familiar by the march of Lord Keane's army.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. vii. cap. iii.

‡ Arrian, lib. iv. cap. xxii.

§ Alexandria was probably at Begrám, 25 miles N. 15 E. from Cábul, the ruins of which are described in a memoir by Mr. Masson, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta,* vol. v. p. 1.

then possessed about the stream that runs from Ghazni to Cábul, the Gómal, and the Kurram, has framed out of those three an imaginary river, which he supposes to run from near Bámián to the Indus, thirty or forty miles south of Attoc. This he calls the Cophenes, and, in consequence, places the scene of Alexander's operations and the seat of the Indian mountaineers to the south of the Cábul river, and at a distance from the range of Caucasus or Paropamisus. Strabo, however, expressly says that Alexander kept as near as he could to the northern mountains, that he might cross the Choaspes (which falls into the Cophenes) and the other rivers as high up as possible. Arrian makes him cross the Cophenes, and then proceed through a mountainous country, and over three other rivers which fell into the Cophenes, before he reaches the Indus. In his "Indica," also, he mentions the Cophenes as bringing those three rivers with it, and joining the Indus in Peucaliotis. It is only on the *north* bank of the Cábul river that three such rivers can be found; and even then there will be great difficulty in fixing their names, for in Arrian's own two lists he completely changes the names of two. Nor is this at all surprising, for most rivers in that part of the country have no name, but are called after some town or country on their banks, and not always after the same. Thus the river called by some the Káshkár river is the Kámeh with Lieutenant Macártney, the Cheghánserái in Báber's Commentaries, and is often called the river of Cunner by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country.

The Soastes would seem to be the river of Swát; but then there is no river left for the Guræus, which is between the Soastes and Indus. Major Rennell, on a different theory, supposes the Guræus to be the Cábul river itself;

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but both of Arrian's accounts make the Guræus fall into the Cophenes, which afterwards falls into the Indus.

The Cábul river, therefore, must be the Cophenes, and the Indians are under the mountains between it, its upper branch (the Punjshír river) and the Indus.

Alexander's proceedings in India are so well known that they cannot be too slightly touched on. After an advance to the Hyphasis, he turned to the south-west, and passed off between the desert and the Indus, having scarcely seen the skirts of India. He made no attempt to establish provinces; but, as he intended to return, he adopted exactly the same policy as that employed by the Duráni Shah in after times. He made a party in the country by dispossessing some chiefs and transferring their territory to their rivals; thus leaving all power in the hands of persons whose interest induced them to uphold his name and conciliate his favour.

The few garrisons he left reminded people of his intended return; and his troops in the nearest parts of Persia would always add to the influence of his partisans.

The adherence of Porus and other princes, who were in a manner set up by the Macedonians, ought therefore to be no matter of surprise.

Description of India.

We now understand the people to whom the Greek descriptions were intended to apply; but we must still be cautious how we form any further opinions regarding that people, on Greek authority alone.

Authorities.

The ancients themselves have set us an example of this caution. Arrian says that he shall only consider as true the accounts of Ptolemy and Aristobulus *when they agree* *; and Strabo, in a very judicious dissertation on the value of the information existing in his time, observes that the

* Preface to the "Expedition of Alexander."

accounts of the Macedonians are contradictory and inaccurate, and that those of later travellers are of still less value from the character of the authors, who were ignorant merchants, careless of every thing except gain.* We may, however, give full credit to the Greek writers when they describe manners and institutions which are still in being, or which are recorded in ancient Hindú books. We may admit, with due allowance for incorrectness, such other accounts as are consistent with these two sources of information; but we must pass by all statements which are not supported by those tests or borne out by their own appearance of truth.

If, however, we discard the fables derived from the Grecian mythology, and those which are contrary to the course of nature, we shall find more reason to admire the accuracy of the early authors, than to wonder at the mistakes into which they fell, in a country so new and so different from their own, and where they had every thing to learn by means of interpreters, generally through the medium of more languages than one.† Their accounts, as far as they go, of the manners and habits of the people, do in fact agree with our own accurate knowledge almost as well as those of most modern travellers prior to the institution of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta.

An example both of the general truth and partial inaccuracy of the Greeks presents itself in the first subject which is to be noticed, agreeably to the order hitherto adopted.

* Beginning of lib. xv. See also lib. ii. p. 48., ed. 1587.

† Onesicritus conversed through three interpreters. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 492., edition of 1587. From Greek into Persian, and from Persian into Indian, are two that obviously suggest themselves; it is not so easy to conjecture for what languages the third interpreter was required.

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Division into classes.

They are well aware of the division into classes, and of the functions of most of them; but, by confounding some distinctions occasioned by civil employment with those arising from that division, they have increased the number from five (including the handicraftsmen, or mixed class) to seven. This number is produced by their supposing the king's councillors and assessors, and his superintendents of provinces, to form two distinct casts; by splitting the class of Váisya into two, consisting of shepherds and husbandmen; and by omitting the servile class altogether. With these exceptions, the classes are in the state described by Menu, which is the groundwork of that still subsisting.

Their first cast is that of the Sophists, or religious and literary class, of whose peculiar occupations they give a correct view. But they do not clearly understand the extent of the Bramin cast, and have, perhaps, confounded the Bramins* with the monastic orders.

The first mistake originates in their ignorance of the fourfold division of a Bramin's life. Thus they speak of men who had been for many years Sophists, marrying and returning to common life; (alluding probably to a student who, having completed the austerities of the first period, becomes a householder;) and they suppose, as has been mentioned, that those who were the king's councillors and judges formed a separate class. It is evident, also, that they classed the Bramins who exercised civil and military functions with the casts to whom those employments properly belonged. They describe the Sophists as the most honoured class, exempt from all burdens, and only contributing their prayers to the support of the state. They inform us that their assistance is necessary at all private

* From this charge I must exempt Nearchus, who seems to have had a clear conception of the division of the Bramins into religious and secular. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 493., ed. 1587.

sacrifices; and correctly describe them (in this case under the name of Brachmanes) as having ceremonies performed for them while yet in the womb*, as undergoing a strict education, and as passing a moderate and abstinent life in groves, on beds of rushes (cusa grass), or skins (deer skins); during which time they listen to their instructors in silence and with respect.

They erroneously prolong this period in all cases to thirty-seven, which is the greatest age to which Menu (Chap. III. Sect. 1.) permits it in any case to extend.

The language ascribed to the sophists regarding the present and future state is in a perfectly Bramin spirit. They place their idea of perfection in independence on every thing external, and indifference to death or life, pain or pleasure. They consider this life as that of a child just conceived, and that *real* life does not begin until what we call death. Their only care, therefore, is about their future state. They deny the reality of good and evil, and say that men are not gratified or afflicted by external objects, but by notions of their own, as in a dream.†

They appear to have possessed separate villages as early as the time of Alexander; to have already assumed the military character on occasions, and to have defended themselves with that fury and desperation which sometimes still characterises Hindús.‡ Their interference in politics, likewise, is exhibited by their instigating Sambus to fly from Alexander, and Musicanus to break the peace he had

* See p. 77.; and Menu, ii. 26, 27.

† Strabo, lib. xv. p. 490., ed. 1587.

‡ Arrian's *Exped. Alexand.*, lib. vi. cap. vii. Similar instances of the voluntary conflagration of cities, and the devotion of their lives by the inhabitants, are furnished in Indian history down to modern times.

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concluded with that conqueror.* Strabo mentions a sect called Pramnæ, who were remarkable for being disputatious, and who derided the Bramins for their attention to physics and astronomy. He considers them as a separate class, but they were probably Bramins themselves, only attached to a particular school of philosophy.†

Sanyássis.

The Sanyássis are very plainly described, under the different names of Brachmanes, Germanes, and Sophists; but it does not very clearly appear whether the ascetics so designated were merely Bramins in the two last stages of their life, or whether they were members of regular monastic establishments. Many of their austerities might be reconciled to the third portion of a Bramin's life, when he becomes an anchoret; but their ostentatious mortifications, their living in bodies, and several other circumstances, lead rather to a conclusion that they belonged to the monastic orders. The best description of these ascetics is given by Onesicritus ‡, who was sent by Alexander to converse with them, in consequence of their refusing to come to him. He found fifteen persons about two miles from the city, naked, and exposed to a burning sun; some sitting, some standing, and some lying, but all remaining immoveable from morning till evening, in the attitudes they had adopted.

He happened first to address himself to Calanus, whom he found lying on stones. Calanus received him with that affectation of independence which religious mendicants still often assume, laughed at his foreign habit, and told

* Arrian, lib. vi. cap. xvi.; where Bramin and Sophist are declared to be synonymous.

† See Wilson (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 279.), who derives their name from Pramánika, a term applied to the followers of the logical school.

‡ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 491.

him that if he wished to converse with him, he must throw off his clothes, and sit down naked on the stones. While Onesicritus was hesitating, Mandanis, the oldest and most holy of the party, came up. He reproved Calanus for his arrogance, and spoke mildly to Onesicritus, whom he promised to instruct in the Indian philosophy, as far as their imperfect means of communication would admit.* Arrian relates† that Alexander endeavoured to prevail on Mandanis (whom he calls Dandamis) to attach himself to him as a companion; but that Mandanis refused, replying that India afforded him all he wanted while he remained in his earthly body, and that when he left it he should get rid of a troublesome companion.

Calanus had his ambition less under control; he joined Alexander in spite of the remonstrances of his fraternity, who reproached him for entering into any other service but that of God.‡ He was treated with respect by the Greeks; but, falling sick in Persia, refused, probably from scruples of cast, to observe the regimen prescribed to him, and determined to put an end to his existence by the flames. Alexander, after in vain opposing his intention, ordered him to be attended to the last scene with all honours, and loaded him with gifts, which he distributed among his friends before he mounted the pile. He was carried thither wearing a garland on his head in the Indian manner, and singing hymns in the Indian language as he passed along. When he had ascended the heap of wood and other combustibles, which had been prepared for him, he ordered it to be set on fire, and met his fate with a serenity that made a great impression on the Greeks.§

* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 492.

† Exped. Alexand., lib. vii. cap. ii.

‡ See Menu, iv. 63., quoted before, p. 26.

§ A similar instance of self-immolation is related by Strabo

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Aristobulus* gives an account of two Sophists, one young and one old, both Brachmanes, whom he met with at Taxila. The elder shaved, the younger wore his hair, and both were followed by disciples. As they passed through the streets they were received with reverence, people pouring oil of sesamum upon them, and offering them cakes of sesamum and honey. After having supped at Alexander's table, they displayed their powers of endurance by withdrawing to a place at some distance, where the elder lay down exposed to the sun and rain, which at that season was heavy, and the younger stood all day on one foot, leaning on a staff.

Other accounts† describe the ascetics as going about the streets, helping themselves to figs or oil, or anything they wanted, entering the houses of the rich, sitting down at their entertainments, and joining in their discourse; in short, conducting themselves with the same freedom which some persons of that description affect at the present day. They are also spoken of as going naked in winter and summer, and passing their time under banyan trees, some of which, it is said, cover five acres, and are sufficient to shelter 10,000 men.

Their present habit of twisting up their hair, so as to form a turban, is noticed by Strabo, though he was not aware of its being confined to one order of them.

They are said to be the only soothsayers and practisers of divination. It is asserted of them that they reckoned it disgraceful to be sick‡, and put an end to themselves when

(lib. xv. p. 495., ed. of 1587.), of Zarmanochegus, an Indian of Bargosa, who had accompanied an embassy from his own country to Augustus, and burned himself alive at Athens.

* Strabo, lib. xv.

† Ibid.

‡ Probably as being a proof of guilt in a former state of existence.

they fell into that calamity. Megasthenes, however, asserts that the philosophers had no particular approbation of suicide, but rather considered it as a proof of levity; both the opinions of the learned, and the occasional practice of the people in that respect, seeming to be much the same as they are now.

It is Megasthenes who calls the ascetics by the names of Germanes, and treats of them as forming a distinct body from the Brachmanes. Yet his description of them is much more applicable to Bramins in the third and fourth periods of life than to the monastic orders. The fact probably is, that he was aware of the distinction between those classes, but had no accurate knowledge of the points in which they differed. There is a class, he says, among the Germanes, who are called Hylobii, from living in the woods, who feed on wild fruits and leaves, are clothed in the bark of trees, abstain from all pleasure, and stand motionless for whole days together in one posture.* The kings send messengers to them to consult them, and to request their intercession with the gods. He somewhat unaccountably describes the physicians as forming another class of Germanes; and mentions that, like their successors of the present day, they rely most on diet and regimen, and next, on external applications, having a great distrust of the effects of more powerful modes of treatment. Like their successors also, they employ charms in aid of their medicines.

He says that the Germanes perform magical rites and divinations, and likewise conduct the ceremonies connected

* See the description of the last portions of a Bramin's life in Menu, Book VI., from p. 29. to the end, quoted in page 27. of this volume.

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with the dead, all of which might as well apply to the Bramins as to the monastic orders.*

It is declared by more authors than one, that different casts cannot intermarry, and that it was not permitted for men of one cast to exercise the employment of another, but that all might become Sophists in whatever class they were born.

Such is the present state of the monastic orders; but whether they had so early assumed that form, or whether the ancients (being ignorant that Bramins could be householders, councillors, and judges, might on occasion carry arms, or practise other professions,) confounded the assumption of ascetic habits by Bramins previously so employed, with the admission of all casts, must remain a doubtful question. †

Súdras.

There is nothing to remark on the other classes, except that the Súdras seem already to have lost their character of a servile class.

Absence of slavery.

Arrian ‡ mentions with admiration that every Indian is free. With them, as with the Lacedemonians, he says, no native can be a slave; but, unlike the Lacedemonians, they keep no other people in servitude. Strabo, who doubts the absence of slavery, as applying to all India,

* Before quitting the subject of the confusion made by the ancients between the Bramins and monastic orders, it may be observed that some modern writers, even of those best acquainted with the distinction, have not marked it in their works; so that it is often difficult to ascertain from their expressions which they allude to in each case. For much information relating to the ancient accounts of the Hindú priesthood and religion, see Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 296.

† Indica, cap. x. See also Diodorus, lib. ii. p. 124., ed. 1604, where he adds many extravagances about their equality and republican institutions.

confines his examples of the contrary to domestic slaves, and appears to have no suspicion of the existence of a servile class. It is possible that the mild form in which slavery appeared among the Súdras may have deceived the Greeks, accustomed to so different a system at home; but it is still more probable that the remains of the servile condition of the Súdras which subsisted in Menu's time, may have disappeared entirely before that of Alexander.

Number and extent of the different states.

The number of independent governments seems to have been as great as at other times. Alexander, in his partial invasion, met with many; and Megasthenes heard that in all India there were 118. Many of these may have been very inconsiderable; but some (the Prasii for instance) possessed great kingdoms. Most of them seem to have been under rájas, as in Menu's time, and the circumstances of those which the Greeks called republics and aristocracies can easily be explained without supposing anything different from what now exists. There have always been extensive tracts without any common head, some under petty chiefs, and some formed of independent villages: in troubled times, also, *towns* have often for a long period carried on their own government.* All these would be called republics by the Greeks, who would naturally fancy their constitutions similar to what they had seen at home. But what their authors had particularly in view were the independent villages, which were in reality republics, and

* Among those of the first description were the Sikhs (before Ranjít Sing's ascendancy), whom Mr. Foster, though familiar with Indian governments, describes as being under a democracy; the chiefs of Shékháwet; and various other petty confederacies of chiefs. Of single villages, the Sóndis and Grásias mentioned by Sir John Malcolm (*Account of Málwa*, vol. i. p. 508.) furnish examples. The same author alludes to *towns* in a state such as has been mentioned.

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which would seem aristocratic or democratic as the village community was great or small in proportion to the other inhabitants.* A more perfect example of such villages could not be found than existed but lately in Hariána, a country contiguous to those occupied by the Cathœi and Malli in Alexander's time. One of these (Biwáni) required, in 1809, a regular siege by a large British force, and would probably have opposed to the Macedonians as obstinate a resistance as Sangala or any of the villages in the adjoining districts, which make so great a figure in the operations of Alexander.

The force ascribed to the Indian kings is probably exaggerated. Porus, one of several who occupied the Panjáb, is said to have had 200 elephants, 300 chariots, 4000 horse, and 30,000 efficient infantry, which, as observed by Sir A. Burnes, is (substituting guns for chariots) exactly the establishment of Ranjít Sing, who is master of the whole Panjáb, and several other territories.†

* See the account of townships in the chapter on revenue, p. 118.

† As an exaggerated opinion appears to be sometimes entertained of the extent of the territories and dependencies of Porus, it may be worth while to state the limits assigned to them by Arrian and Strabo. His western boundary was the Hydaspes. Beyond that river, in the centre, was his mortal enemy Taxiles; on the north of whose dominions was Abissares, an independent prince whom Arrian calls king of the mountain Indians[a]; and on the south, Sopithes, another independent sovereign, in whose territories the Salt range lay[b]: so that Porus could possess nothing to the west of the Hydaspes. On the north, his territory extended to the woods under the mountains[c]; but it did not include the whole country between the Hydaspes and Acesines, for, besides other tribes who might by possibility be

[a] Arrian, lib. v. cap. 8. [b] Strabo, lib. xv. p. 481.
[c] Ibid. p. 480.

The most that we can concede to Arrian would be, that the armies which he speaks of as permanent were the whole of the tumultuary forces which any of those princes could, in case of necessity, bring into the field. The numbers alleged by Pliny are beyond probability, even on that or any other supposition. The fourfold division of the army (horse, foot, chariots, and elephants) was the same as that of Menu; but Strabo makes a sextuple division, by adding the commissariat and naval departments. The soldiers were all of the military class, were in constant pay during war and peace, and had servants to perform all duties not strictly military. Their horses and arms were supplied by the state (an arrangement very unlike that usually adopted now). It is stated, repeatedly, that they never ravaged

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dependent on Porus, there were the Glaucanicæ or Glausæ, who had thirty-seven large cities, and whom Alexander put under Porus[d]; thereby adding much country to what he had before possessed.[e] On the east, between the Acesines and Hydraotes, he had another Porus, who was his bitter enemy.[f] To the south-east of him were the Cathæi, and other independent nations, against whom he assisted Alexander.[g] To the south were the Malli, against whom Porus and Abissares had once led their combined forces, with those of many others, and had been defeated.[h]

From this it appears that the dominions of Porus were all situated between the Hydaspes and Acesines; and that his immediate neighbours on every side were independent of him, and most of them at war with him. If he had any dependents, they must have been between the rivers already mentioned, where there were certainly different tribes; but of those, we know that the Glaucanicæ were independent of him, and we have no reason to think the others were dependent.

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[d] Arrian, lib. v. cap. 20. [e] Ibid. cap. 21.
[f] Ibid. cap. 21. [g] Ibid. cap. 22. 24.
[h] Ibid. cap. 22.

the country, and that the husbandmen pursued their occupations undisturbed while hostile armies were engaged in battle. This, though evidently an exaggeration, is probably derived from the Hindú laws of war recorded in Menu, which must have made a strong impression on the Greeks, unaccustomed as they were to so mild and humane a system.

The bravery of the armies opposed to the Greeks is always spoken of as superior to that of the other nations with whom they had contended in Asia; and the loss acknowledged, though incredibly small, is much greater in the Indian battles than in those with Darius. Their arms, with the exception of fire-arms, were the same as at present. The peculiar Indian bow, now only used in mountainous countries, which is drawn with the assistance of the feet, and shoots an arrow more that six feet long, is particularly described by Arrian, as are the long swords and iron spears, both of which are still occasionally in use. Their powerful bits, and great management of their horses, were remarkable even then.

Manners and customs similar to the present.

The presents made by the Indian princes indicate wealth; and all the descriptions of the parts visited by the Greeks give the idea of a country teeming with population, and enjoying the highest degree of prosperity.

Apollodorus * states that there were, between the Hydaspes and Hypanis (Hyphasis), 1500 cities, none of which was less than Cos; which, with every allowance for exaggeration, supposes a most flourishing territory. Palibothra was eight miles long and one and a half broad, defended by a deep ditch and a high rampart, with 570 towers and 64 gates.

The numerous commercial cities and ports for foreign

* Strabo, lib. xv.

trade, which are mentioned at a later period (in the "Periplus"), attest the progress of the Indians in a department which more than any other shows the advanced condition of a nation.

The police is spoken of as excellent. Megasthenes relates that, in the camp of Sandracottus, which he estimates to have contained 400,000 men, the sums stolen daily did not amount to more than 200 drachms (about 3*l.*).

Justice seems to have been administered by the King and his assessors; and the few laws mentioned are in the spirit of those of Menu. On this subject, however, the Greeks are as ill informed as might have been expected. They all believe the laws to have been unwritten; some even maintain that the Indians were ignorant of letters, while others praise the beauty of their writing.*

The revenue was derived from the land, the workmen, and the traders.† The land revenue is stated by Strabo to amount (as in Menu) to one fourth of the produce; but he declares, in plain terms, that "the whole land is the King's," and is farmed to the cultivators on the above terms.‡ He mentions, in another place, that the inhabitants of some villages cultivate the land in common, according to a system still much in use. The portion of the revenue paid in work by handicraftsmen (as stated by Menu, quoted in page 39.) is also noticed by Strabo. His account of the heads of markets (*αγορονομοι*); their measurement of fields and distribution of water for irrigation; their administration of justice; and their being the channels for payment of the revenue; together with their general superintendence of the trades, roads, and all affairs within their limits, agrees exactly with the functions of the present

* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 493., ed. 1587.

† Arrian's Indica, p. 11.

‡ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 484., ed. 1587

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pátéls, or heads of villages; and that of the heads of towns, though less distinct, bears a strong resemblance to the duties of similar officers at the present day.

Little is said about the religion of the Indians. Strabo mentions that they worship Jupiter Pluvius (which may mean Indra), the Ganges, and other local gods; that they wear no crowns at sacrifices; and that they stifle the victim instead of stabbing it,—a curious coincidence with some of the mystical sacrifices of the Bramins, which are supposed to be of modern date.

Various other ancients are quoted by Mr. Colebrooke *, to show that they likewise worshipped the sun.

Much is said by the Greeks of the Indian worship of Bacchus and Hercules; but obviously in consequence of their forcibly adapting the Hindú legends to their own, as they have done in so many other cases.†

The learning of the Hindús was, of course, inaccessible to the Greeks. They had, however, a great impression of their wisdom; and some particulars of their philosophy, which have been handed down, are not unimportant. Megasthenes asserts that they agreed in many things with the Greeks; that they thought the world had a beginning and will have an end, is round, and is pervaded by the God who made and governs it; that all things rise from different origins, and the world from water; that, besides the four elements, there is one of which the heavens and stars are made; and that the world is the centre of the universe. He says they also agreed with the Greeks about the soul, and many other matters; and composed many tales (*μυθοι*) like Plato, about the immortality of the soul, the judgment after death, and similar subjects.‡

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 298.

† The mention of the worship of Hercules at Methora may possibly refer to that of Crishna at Mattra.

‡ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 490., ed. 1587.

It is evident, from these early accounts, that if the Bramins learned their philosophy from the Greeks, it must have been before the time of Alexander; and Onesicritus, whose conversations with them on philosophy have been already mentioned, expressly says that they inquired whether the Greeks ever held similar discourses, and makes it manifest that they were entirely uninformed regarding the sciences and opinions of his countrymen.

From the silence of the Greeks respecting Indian architecture we may infer that the part of the country which they visited was as destitute of fine temples as it is now. Their account of Indian music is as unfavourable as would be given by a modern European; for, although it is said that they were fond of singing and dancing, it is alleged, in another place, that they had no instruments but drums, cymbals, and castanets.

The other arts of life seem to have been in the same state as at present. The kinds of grain reaped at each of their two harvests were the same as now: sugar, cotton, spices, and perfumes were produced as at present; and the mode of forming the fields into small beds to retain the water used in irrigation is described as similar.* Chariots were drawn in war by horses, but on a march by oxen; they were sometimes drawn by camels (which are now seldom applied to draught but in the desert). Elephant chariots were also kept as a piece of great magnificence. I have only heard of two in the present age.

The modern mode of catching and training elephants, with all its ingenious contrivances, may be learned from Arrian† almost as exactly as from the account of the modern practice in "Asiatic Researches."‡

The brilliancy of their dyes is remarked on, as well as

* Strabo, lib. xv. pp. 476, 477. † Indica, chap. xiii.
‡ Vol. iii. p. 229.

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their skill in manufactures and imitations of foreign objects.*

The use of copper vessels for all purposes was as general as it is now; but brazen ones, which are now even more common, were avoided on account of their supposed brittleness. Royal roads are spoken of by Strabo † in one place, and mile-stones in another. ‡

Strabo expatiates on the magnificence of the Indian festivals. Elephants, adorned with gold and silver, moved forth in procession with chariots of four horses and carriages drawn by oxen; well-appointed troops marched in their allotted place; gilded vases and basins of great size were borne in state, with tables, thrones, goblets, and lavers, almost all set with emeralds, beryls, carbuncles, and other precious stones; garments of various colours, and embroidered with gold, added to the richness of the spectacle. Tame lions and panthers formed part of the show, to which singing birds, and others remarkable for their plumage, were also made to contribute, sitting on trees which were transported on large waggons, and increased the variety of the scene. This last custom survived in part, and perhaps still survives, in Bengal, where artificial trees, and gardens as they were called not long ago, formed part of the nuptial processions. § They are said to honour the memories of the dead, and to compose songs in their praise, but not to erect expensive tombs to them ||; a peculiarity which still prevails, notwithstanding the reverence paid to ancestors. The peculiar custom of building wooden houses near the rivers, which is noticed by Arrian ¶, probably refers to the practice which still obtains from the Indus, where the floors are platforms raised twelve or fifteen feet from the

* Strabo, lib. xv. p. 493.

† Lib. xv. p. 474., ed. 1587.

‡ Lib. xv. p. 487.

§ Lib. xv. p. 494.

|| Arrian's Indica, cap. x.

¶ Ibid. cap. x.

ground, to the Irawaddy, where almost all the houses of Rangoon seem to be similarly constructed.

They never gave or took money in marriage *; conforming, in that respect, both to the precepts of Menu and to the practice of modern times. †

The women were chaste, and the practice of self-immolation by widows was already introduced, but, perhaps, only partially; as Aristobulus speaks of it as one of the extraordinary local peculiarities which he heard of at Taxila.‡ The practice of giving their daughters to the victor in prescribed trials of force and skill, which gives rise to several adventures in the Hindú heroic poems, is spoken of by Arrian § as usual in common life. Their kings are represented as surrounded by numbers of female slaves, who not only attend them in their retired apartments, as in Menu, but accompany them on hunting parties, and are guarded from view by jealous precautions for keeping the public at a distance, like those well known among Mahometans, and them only, by the name of kúruk. The ceremonial of the kings, however, had not the servility since introduced by the Mussulmans. It was the custom of the Indians to pray for the King, but not to prostrate themselves before him like the Persians. ||

The dress of the Indians, as described by Arrian ¶, is

* Arrian, *Indica*, cap. xvii.

† Megasthenes alone contradicts this account, and says they bought their wives for a yoke of oxen. (Strabo, cap. xv. p. 488.)

‡ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 491., ed. 1587.

§ Indica, cap. xvii.

|| It is remarkable that in the Hindú dramas there is not a trace of servility in the behaviour of other characters to the King. Even now, Hindú courts that have had little communication with the Mussulmans are comparatively unassuming in their etiquette.

¶ Indica, cap. xvi.

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precisely that composed of two sheets of cotton cloth, which is still worn by the people of Bengal, and by strict Bramins every where. Earrings and ornamented slippers were also used, according to the fashion of the present day. Their clothes were generally white cotton, though often of a variety of bright colours and flowered patterns (chintz). They wore gold and jewels, and were very expensive in their dresses, though frugal in most other things.* Pearls and precious stones were in common use among them. The great had umbrellas carried over them, as now.

They dyed their beards, as they now do, with henna and indigo; and mistakes in the mixture or time of application seem then, as now, to have occasionally made their beards green, blue, and purple. At present, no colours are ever purposely produced but black and sometimes red. They dined separately, according to their present unsociable practice, each man cooking his own dinner apart when he required it. They drank little fermented liquor, and what they did use was made from rice (arrack).

The appearance of the Indians is well described, and (what is surprising, considering the limited knowledge of the Macedonians) the distinction between the inhabitants of the north and south is always adverted to. The southern Indians are said to be black, and not unlike Ethiopians, except for the absence of flat noses and curly hair; the northern ones are fairer, and like Egyptians†, — a resemblance which must strike every traveller from India on seeing the pictures in the tombs on the Nile.

Favourable opinion entertained by the Greeks of the Indian character.

The Indians are described as swarthy, but very tall, handsome, light, and active.‡ Their bravery is always

* Strabo, lib. xv. pp. 481. 488.

† Arrian, *Indica*, cap. vi.; Strabo, lib. xv. p. 475., ed. 1587.

‡ Arrian, *Indica*, cap. xvii.

spoken of as characteristic; their superiority in war to other Asiatics is repeatedly asserted, and appears in more ways than one.* They are said to be sober, moderate, peaceable; good soldiers; good farmers†; remarkable for simplicity and integrity; so reasonable as never to have recourse to a law-suit; and so honest as neither to require locks to their doors nor writings to bind their agreements.‡ Above all, it is said that no Indian was ever known to tell an untruth.§

We know, from the ancient writings of the Hindús themselves, that the alleged proofs of their confidence in each other are erroneous. The account of their veracity may safely be regarded as equally incorrect; but the statement is still of great importance, since it shows what were the qualities of the Indians that made most impression on the Macedonians, and proves that their character must, since then, have undergone a total change. Strangers are now struck with the litigiousness and falsehood of the natives; and, when they are incorrect in their accounts, it is always by exaggerating those defects.

* Arrian, *Exped. Alexand.*, lib. v. cap. iv.

† Ibid. lib. v. cap. xxv.

‡ Strabo, lib. xv. p. 488., ed. 1587.

§ Arrian, *Indica*, cap. xii.

# APPENDIX IV.

## ON THE GREEK KINGDOM OF BACTRIA.

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Accounts of the ancients.

THE great kingdom of Bactria, as formerly known to us, had so little influence on India, that it would scarcely have deserved mention in the history of that country.

Late discoveries have shown a more permanent connection between it and India, and may throw light on relations as yet little understood. But these discoveries still require the examination of antiquarians; and a slight sketch of the results hitherto ascertained will be sufficient in this place.

When Alexander retired from India, he left a detachment from his army in Bactria.

B. C. 312.

After the first contest for the partition of his empire, that province fell to the lot of Seleucus, king of Syria. He marched in person to reduce the local governors into obedience, and afterwards went on to India, and made his treaty with Sandracottus.* Bactria remained subject to his descendants, until their own civil wars and the impending revolt of the Parthians induced the governor of the province to assert his independence. Theodotus was the first king. He was succeeded by his son of the same name, who was deposed by Euthydemus, a native of Magnesia, in Asia Minor. By this time, the Seleucidæ had consolidated their power; and Antiochus the Great came with a large army to restore order in the eastern part of his dominions. He defeated Euthydemus, but admitted him to terms; and

B. C. 250.

* See p. 262.

confirmed him in possession of the throne he had usurped. It does not seem probable that Euthydemus carried his arms to the south of the eastern Caucasus; but his son, Demetrius, obtained possession of Arachosia and a large portion of Persia. He also made conquests in India, and was in possession, not only of Lower Sind, but of the coast of India further to the east. He seems, however, to have been excluded from Bactria, of which Eucratidas remained master. After the death of Euthydemus, Demetrius made an unsuccessful attempt to dispossess this rival; and, in the end, lost all his Indian conquests, which were seized by Eucratidas. In his time the Bactrian power was at its height.

In the midst of his greatness he was assassinated by his own son, Eucratidas II.; and, during the reign of this prince, some of his western dominions were seized on by the Parthians, and Bactria itself by the Scythians*; and nothing remained in his possession but the country on the south of the eastern Caucasus. The period of the reigns of Menander and Apollodotus, and the relation in which they stood to the Eucratidæ, cannot be made out from the ancients. Menander made conquests in the north-west of India, and carried the Greek arms further in that direction than any other monarch of the nation. The position of his conquests is shown in a passage of Strabo, that likewise contains all we know of the extent of the Bactrian kingdom. According to an ancient author there quoted, the Bactrians possessed the most conspicuous part of Ariana, and conquered more nations in India than even Alexander. In this last achievement, the principal actor was Menander, who crossed the Hypanis towards the east, and went on as far as the Isamus. Between him and Demetrius, the son

* About 130 B. C. (Clinton's *Fasti*); 125 B.C. (De Guignes).

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of Euthydemus (continues the same author), the Bactrians occupied not only Pattalene, but that part of the other coast which is called the kingdom of Tessariostus and the kingdom of Sigertes. The Hypanis mentioned in the beginning of the passage referred to is admitted to mean the Hyphasis; but the Isamus is thought by some to be the Jamna river, by others the Hémaláya mountains (sometimes called Imaus), and by others, again, a small river called Isa, which runs into the Ganges on the western side. Whichever is correct, the territory to the east of the Panjáb must have been a narrow strip. No mention is made of acquisitions towards the south; and if any had been made in that direction as far as Delhi, or even Hastinapúr, they would not have entirely escaped the notice even of Hindú authors. The south-western conquests extended to the Delta of the Indus (Pattalene being the country about Tatta); but whether the kingdom of Sigertes, on the other coast, was Cach or the peninsula of Guzerát, we have no means of conjecturing. The author of the "Periplus" says that coins of Menander and Apollodotus were met with in his time at Baróch, which, in the state of circulation of those days, makes it probable that some of their territories were not very distant. On the west, "the most conspicuous part of Ariana" would certainly be Khorásán; but they had probably lost some portion of that province before their Indian conquests attained the utmost limit.*

The above is the information we derive from ancient authors. It has been confirmed and greatly augmented by recent discoveries from coins. These increase the number of Greek kings from the eight above mentioned to eighteen;

* The information to be found in ancient authors is collected in Bayer's *Bactria*. There is a clear, concise sketch of Bactrian history from the same sources in Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii. p. 315., note x.

and disclose new dynasties of other nations who succeeded each other on the extinction of the Greek monarchy.

The subject first attracted notice in consequence of some coins obtained by Colonel Tod, and an interesting paper which he published regarding them in the first volume of the "Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society." It excited great attention on the Continent, and was zealously followed up in India by Professor Wilson and by Mr. Prinsep.

Professor Wilson has published an account of the coins of the Greek kings, and arranged them as far as our present knowledge permits; but as they bear no dates either of time or place, the arrangement is necessarily incomplete. The coins of the kings already mentioned, down to Eucratidas I., are found on the north of the eastern Caucasus. The inscriptions, the figures, the reverses, and the workmanship are pure Greek. From Eucratidas II., no coins are found on the northern side of the mountains; and those found on the southern side assume a new form. They are often square, a shape of which there is no example in any other Grecian coinage either European or Asiatic: they frequently bear two inscriptions, one in Greek and another in a barbaric character; and, from the reign of Menander, they have occasionally an elephant, or a bull with a hump; both animals peculiar to India, and indicative of an Indian dominion.

The barbaric character has been but imperfectly deciphered, and has given rise to a good deal of discussion. It is certainly written from right to left; a mode, as far as we know, peculiar to the languages of the Arab family: it may be assumed that it represents the language of the country, which it is natural to suppose would be Persian; and these circumstances suggest Pehlevi as the language. This opinion, accordingly, has been maintained by some of those who have written on the subject; but a close

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examination by Professor Wilson leads him to doubt the conclusion, though he has no theory of his own to support. Others, thinking that they discover words of Shanscrit origin in the inscriptions, believe the language to be Zend, or else some of the dialects of India.

Of this series of coins the first that attract notice are those of Menander. As they exhibit the title of *Soter*, which was adopted by the two Eucratidæ, and as the devices on the reverses are the same as on coins of these princes, it is a legitimate deduction that the king who struck them belonged to the same dynasty. The same argument extends to the coins of Apollodotus, who was perhaps the son of Menander. Two more kings, Diomedes and Hermœus, have also the title of *Soter*, and may be presumed to belong to the same dynasty. The inferior execution of the coins of Hermœus points him out as the latest of the series; and it is his coins, also, that furnish the model for another description which it may be inferred came immediately after his time.

These are of much ruder workmanship, and the inscriptions are an almost illegible Greek; the names, also, are barbarous and uncouth, — Kadphises, Kanerkes, &c. These are conjectured, on very probable grounds, to be Scythians, and to have subjected the southern kingdom of the Bactrian Greeks about the beginning of the Christian æra.

Other coins are also found resembling the last series, but perhaps connected with the Parthians rather than the Scythians.

To complete the chronology, there are coins not yet examined, but obviously belonging to the Sassanians, who were in possession of Persia at the time of the Mahometan invasion.

There is another class of coins, resembling, in many re-

spects, those of the Eucratidæ, and probably belonging to a series collateral with that of the *Soters*, but extending beyond the duration of that dynasty. Many of the names they bear are accompanied by epithets derived from Niké (victory); from which, and other points of resemblance, they are regarded as belonging to one dynasty.

There is one more class, consisting of only two princes, Agathocles and Pantaleon. They are thought to be the latest of all the Greek coins, but are chiefly remarkable because they alone have their second inscriptions in the ancient character found on the caves and columns of India, and not in the one written from right to left.

Some conclusions may be drawn from the situations in which the coins have been discovered. Those of Menander are numerous in the country about Cábul, and also at Pesháwer. One has been found as far east as Mattra on the Jamna. We may perhaps infer that his capital was situated in the tract first mentioned, and this would give ground for conjecturing the residence of the *Soter* dynasty. I do not know that there is any clue to that of the *Niké* kings. Professor Wilson conjectures Agathocles and Pantaleon to have reigned in the mountains about Chitrál; which, being the country of the Paropamisian Indians, may perhaps afford some explanation of the Indian character on their coins. The situation in which the Scythian coins are found is itself very remarkable; and there are other circumstances which hold out a prospect of their throwing great light on Indian history. All the former coins, with the exception of some of those of Hermœus, have been purchased in the bázárs, or picked up on or near the surface of the earth on the sites of old cities. But the Scythian coins are found in great numbers in a succession of monuments which are scattered over a tract extending eastward from the neighbourhood of Cábul, through the whole basin

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of the Cábul river, and across the northern part of the Panjáb. These huge structures are the sort of solid cupola so common among the votaries of Budha; and, like the rest, contain each a relic of some holy person. No Greek coins are ever found in them, except those of Hermœus; but there are other coins, a few from remote countries, and the earliest yet discovered is one belonging to the second triumvirate. This coin must have been struck as late as the forty-third year before Christ; but might easily have found its way to the frontiers of India before the first overthrow of the Greek kingdom, which all agree to have taken place about the beginning of the Christian æra.

These facts corroborate the conjectures of De Guignes, drawn from Chinese annals, that the Greeks were driven out of Bactria, by the Tartar tribe of Su from the north of Transoxiana, 126 years before Christ; and that their Indian kingdom was subverted about twenty-six years before Christ by the Yue-chi, who came from Persia, and spread themselves along a large portion of the course of the Indus.*

The Su have left no coins; but it is natural to suppose that the Yue-chi, who came from Persia, would follow the example set by the Parthians, and would imitate the coinage of their Greek predecessors. This practice of the Indo-Scythians (whoever they were) was taken up by some dynasty of the Hindús; for coins of the latter nation have been found, bearing nearly the same relation to those of the Indo-Scythians that *theirs* did to the coins of the Greeks.

* De Guignes's account of the first conquest is, that the Su came from Ferghána, on the Jaxartes, and conquered a civilised nation, whose coin bore a man on one side, and horsemen on the other. The coins of the Eucratidæ have the king's head on one side, and Castor and Pollux, mounted, on the other.

We must not suppose that the Bactrian kingdom was composed of a great body of Greek colonists, such as existed in the west of Asia or in the south of Italy. A very large proportion of Alexander's army latterly was composed of barbarians, disciplined and undisciplined. These would not be anxious to accompany him on his retreat; and, on the other hand, we know that he was constrained to retrace his steps by the impatience of the Greeks and Macedonians to return to their own country.

From this we may conclude that a small part of those left behind were of the latter nations; and, as Alexander encouraged his soldiers to take Persian wives, (a course in itself indispensable to the settlers, from the absence of Greek women,) it is evident that the second generation of Bactrians must have been much more Persian than Greek. Fresh importations of Greek adventurers would take place during the ascendancy of the Seleucidæ; but, after the establishment of the Parthian power, all communication must necessarily have been cut off; which explains the total silence of Greek authors regarding the later days of the Bactrian kingdom: the degeneracy of the latter coinage is consistent with these facts, which also remove the difficulty of accounting for the disappearance of the Greeks after the overthrow of their southern kingdom.

# APPENDIX V.

## NOTES ON THE REVENUE SYSTEM.



(A) Traces of the lord *of a thousand villages* are found in different parts of the country, where particular families retain the name and part of the emoluments of their stations, but seldom or never exercise any of the powers.*

The next division is still universally recognised throughout India under the name of *perganneh*, although in many places the officers employed in it are only known by their enjoyment of hereditary lands or fees; or, at most, by their being the depositaries of all registers and records connected with land. These districts are no longer uniformly composed of one hundred villages, if they ever were so in practice; but, for the most part, are rather under that number, although in rare cases they depart from it very widely both in deficiency and excess.

The duties of a chief of a perganneh, even in pure Hindú times, were probably confined to the management of the police and revenue. He had under him an accountant or registrar, whose office, as well as his own, was hereditary, and who has retained his functions more extensively than his principal.†

* These are called sirdésmuks in the Deckan, in which and other southern parts of India the territorial division of Menu is most entire. Their districts are called sircárs or prânts, and these are constantly recognised, even when the office is quite extinct. Their hereditary registrar, also, is still to be found under the name of sir déspándi.

† The head perganneh officer was called désmuk or désai in the Deckan, and the registrar, déspandi. In the north of India they are called choudri and cánongó.

Next below the perganneh is a division now only subsisting in name, and corresponding to Menu's lordship of ten or twenty towns*; and the chain ends in individual villages.†

(B) Called patél in the Deckan and in the west and centre of Hindostan; mandel in Bengal; and mokaddam in many other places, especially where there are or have lately been hereditary village landholders.

(C) Patwári in Hindostan; culcarni and carnam in the Deckan and south of India; talláti in Guzerát.

(D) Pásbán, gorâyet, peik, douráha, &c. in Hindostan; mhár in the Deckan; tillári in the south of India; paggi in Guzerát.

(E) Village landholders are distinctly recognised throughout the whole of the Bengal presidency, except in Bengal proper, and perhaps Rohilcand.‡ They appear to subsist in part of Rájputána; and perhaps did so, at no remote period, over the whole of it.§ They are very numerous in Guzerát, include more than half the cultivators of the Maratta country, and a very large portion of those of the Támil country. There is good reason to think they were once general in those countries where they are now only partially in existence, and perhaps in others where they are not now to be found. They are almost extinct in the

* Called náikwári, tarref, &c. &c.

† For the accounts of these divisions and officers, see Malcolm's Malwa (vol. ii. p. 4.); Stirling's Orissa (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 226.); Report from the Commissioner in the Deckan and its inclosures (*Selections*, vol. iv. p. 161.).

‡ Sir E. Colebrooke's Minute (*Selections*, vol. iii. p. 165.).

§ Colonel Tod, vol. i. p. 495., and vol. ii. p. 540.

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country south of the Nerbadda, except in the parts just mentioned. In all the Madras presidency north of Madras itself; in the Nizam's country, and most of that of Nágpúr; in great part of Candésh and the east of the Maratta country, there is no class resembling them. This tract comprehends the greater part of the old divisions of Telingána, Orissa, and Cánara; but does not so closely coincide with their boundaries, as to give much reason for ascribing the absence of village landholders to any peculiarity in the ancient system of those countries. In Málwa, though so close to countries where the village landholders are common, they do not seem now to be known. They are not mentioned in Sir John Malcolm's "Central India."

(F) In Hindostan they are most commonly called village zemíndárs or biswadárs; in Behár, máliks; in Guzerát, patéls; and in the Deckan and south of India, mírássis or mírásdárs.

"The right of property in the land is unequivocally recognised in the present agricultural inhabitants by descent, purchase, or gift."*

The right of the village landholders, to the extent stated in the text, is repeatedly alluded to in the published records of the Bengal government relating to the western provinces. Sir C. Metcalfe, though he contests the opinion that the right of property is full and absolute as in England, has no doubt about the persons in whom that right is vested. "The only proprietors, generally speaking, are the village zemíndárs or biswahdars. The pretensions of all others are *primâ facie* doubtful."† For portions of the territory under the Madras presidency see the Proceedings

* Fortescue, *Selections*, vol. viii. p. 403.

† Minute of Sir C. Metcalfe, in the Report of the Select Committee of August, 1832, vol. iii. p. 335.

of the Board of Revenue*, and Mr. Ellis.† Sir T. Munro‡, though he considers the advantages of mírásdárs to have been greatly exaggerated and their land to be of little value, admits it to be saleable.§ For the Maratta country see Mr. Chaplin and the Reports of the Collectors.‖ Captain Robertson, one of the collectors, among other deeds of sale, gives one from some private villagers transferring their mírássi rights to the Péshwa himself. He also gives a grant from a village community conferring the lands of an extinct family on the same prince for a sum of money, and guaranteeing him against the claims of the former proprietors. A very complete account of all the different tenures in the Maratta country, as well as of the district and village officers, with illustrations from personal inquiries, is given by Lieutenant Colonel Sykes in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society."¶

Care must be taken to distinguish mírás in the sense now adverted to from lands held on other tenures; for the word means *hereditary* property, and is, therefore, applied to rights of all descriptions which come under that denomination.

(G) Mr. Fortescue (*Selections*, vol. iii. pp. 403. 405. 408.); Captain Robertson (Ibid. vol. iv. p. 153.); Madras Board of Revenue (*Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons*, 1832, vol. iii. p. 393.); Governor of Bombay's Minute (Ibid. vol. iii. p. 637.).

(H) The following are the rights possessed in the intermediate stages between a fixed rent and an honorary

* Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832, vol. iii. p. 392.

† Ibid. p. 382.

‡ Minute of Dec. 31. 1824.

§ Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832, p. 457.

‖ Selections, vol. iv. p. 474.

¶ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 205., and vol. iii. p. 350.

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acknowledgment. The landholders are entitled to a deduction from the gross produce of the fields before dividing it with the government, and to fees on all the produce raised by persons not of their own class. This is called tunduwárum or swámibhogam (owner's share) in the Támil country; and málikána or zemíndári rasúm in Hindostan. In the latter country it usually forms part of a consolidated payment of 10 per cent. to the zemíndárs, which seems intended as a compensation for all general demands; but not interfering with the rent of a landholder's lands where any such could be obtained. In some places* they have also fees from the non-agricultural inhabitants; and, as they are every where proprietors of the site of the village, they can levy rent in money or service from any person who lives within their bounds.

Where they have lost some of these rights by the encroachments of the government, they frequently have some consideration shown them in assessing their payment to the state, so as in some cases to admit of their getting rent for their land. In some places they are left their fees†; and, where they are at the lowest, they have an exemption from certain taxes which are paid by all the rest of the inhabitants. The rights and immunities of the village landholders, as such, must not be confounded with those allowed to mokaddams and other officers for the performance of certain duties. Though the same persons may hold both, they are in their nature quite distinct; one being a proprietary right arising from an interest in the

* In Guzerát and in Hindostan. Also, see an account of the village of Burleh, by Mr. Cavendish (*Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, 1832, vol. iii. p. 246.).

† In part of Támil, and in Hindostan, when not superseded by the allowance of 10 per cent. (See *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, 1832, vol. iii. p. 247.).

soil, and the other a mere remuneration for service, transferable along with the service from one person to another, at the pleasure of the employer.

In some villages the rights of the landholders are held in common, the whole working for the community, and sharing the net produce, after satisfying the claims of the government. In some they divide the cultivated lands, but still with mutual responsibility for the dues of government, and sometimes with periodical interchanges of their portions; and in others they make the separation between the portions of cultivated land complete, retaining only the waste land and some other rights in common; but, at times, they divide the waste land also. In dividing their lands they do not in general give one compact portion to each landholder, but assign to him a share of every description of soil; so that he has a patch of fertile land in one place, one of sterile in another, one of grazing ground in a third, and so on, according to the variety of qualities to be found within the village.

In making a partition of the land the landholders are taken by families, as has been explained of the village government; but in the case of land the principal family divisions are subdivided, and the subdivisions divided again, until they are brought to such a number of individuals as is thought most convenient for management.* The lands of

* "To explain the divisions of a village and inheritable shares of it, suppose the ancient first proprietor or incumbent to have left, on his death, four sons; each would inherit equally, and four *panes* would thus be erected; on the demise of each of those persons with four sons also, each would be entitled to a quarter of his father's *pane*, which would give rise to four tholas in each pane, and so on." (Mr. Fortescue, *Selections*, vol. iii. p. 405.) About Delhi, the great division seems to be called pane, as above; but the commonest name in Hindostan is patti, subdivided into thócks, and they again into bhéris.

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the village and other profits of the community are likewise formed into shares, sometimes corresponding exactly to the divisions, subdivisions, &c. of the families; but more frequently reduced to small fractions, a proportionate number of which is assigned to each division, &c., so as ultimately to be distributed in due proportion to each individual.*

The public burdens are partitioned exactly in the same manner, so that each division, subdivision, and individual knows its quota; each, therefore, might manage its own agricultural and pecuniary affairs independently of the rest, and such is not unfrequently the case.†

(I) The Arabic word ryot (pronounced reiat) means a subject, and is so employed in all Mahometan countries; but in some of them it is also used in a more restricted sense. In India its secondary senses are, — 1. A person paying revenue. 2. A cultivator in general. 3. A tenant as explained in the text. In reference to the person of whom they hold their lands, ryots are called his assámis.

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There are many other names, and even these vary in the application; a great division being in some places called a thóck, and a subdivision a patti. In Guzerát the great divisions are called bágh, and the subdivisions patti: another, and the commonest subdivision there, is into annas, again subdivided into cháwils. In the Deckan the great divisions are called jattas, and there are no subdivisions.

* See Table by Sir Edward Colebrooke, *Selections*, vol. iii. p. 166.

† In the Maratta country, for instance, although there are divisions with a joint responsibility among the members, yet they have no longer heads; each individual manages his own concerns, and the headman of the village does all the rest. I do not advert to changes made in other parts of India which are departures from the Hindú practice.

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(K) This class is called in the territory under Bengal khudkásht ryots, which name (as "khud" means "own," and "káshtan" to "cultivate") has been considered a proof that they are proprietors of the land. Rám Móhan Rái, however, (an unexceptionable authority,) explains it to mean "cultivators of the lands of their *own village* *," which seems the correct interpretation, as the term is always used in contradistinction to páikásht, or cultivators of another village.

(L) It is in the Támil country and in Guzerát that their rights seem best established.

In the Támil country they have a hereditary right of occupancy, subject to the payment of the demand of government and of the usual fees to the village landholder, which are fixed, and sometimes at no more than a pepper-corn; but the tenant cannot sell, give away, or mortgage his rights, although in the circumstances described they must be nearly as valuable as those of the landholder himself.† In Guzerát their tenure is nearly similar, except that it is clearly understood that their rent is to be raised in proportion to any increase to the government demand on the village landholder.‡ In Hindostan there appears to be a feeling that they are entitled to hereditary occupancy, and that their rents ought not to be raised above those usual in the neighbourhood: but the following summary will show how imperfect this right is thought to be.

In 1818, a call was made by the Bengal government

* Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, October 11. 1831, p. 716.

† Mr. Ellis, *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, August 10. 1832, vol. iii. p. 377.; Board of Revenue Minute of January 5. 1818, p. 421.

‡ It is probable that this understanding prevails in the Támil country also, though not mentioned in the printed reports.

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on the collectors of all its provinces not under the permanent settlement, for information respecting the rights of the permanent ryots. Of fourteen collectors, eleven considered the landholder to be entitled to raise his rent at pleasure, and to oust his tenant whenever he could get better terms elsewhere; two collectors (those of Etawa and Seharunpúr) seem to have thought that the landlord's rent should not be raised unless there was an increase in the demand of government: the collector of Bundelcund alone declared the khudkásht ryot's right to be as good as his of whom he holds. The members of the Revenue Commission, in forwarding these reports, gave their opinion that landholders conceive themselves to possess the power of ousting their tenants, although from the demand for ryots it is not frequently exercised.

The government at that time doubted the correctness of these opinions, and called for further information; which, although it threw much light on the question, did not materially alter the above conclusion.

Mr. Fortescue, reporting on Delhi, (where the rights of the permanent tenant seem better preserved than in any place under Bengal except Bundélcand,) says, that the ancient and hereditary occupants cannot be dispossessed "as long as they discharge their portion of the public assessment."

The minute reports on various villages in different collectorships, abstracted by Mr. Holt Mackenzie *, do not lead to a belief that the rents cannot be raised. Mr. Colebrooke states in a minute, which seems to have been written in 1812 †, "that no rule of adjustment could be described (query, discovered?) after the most patient inquiry by a

* Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832, vol. iii. p. 243.

† See vol. i. p. 262.

very intelligent public officer; and that the proceedings of the courts of justice in numerous other cases led to the same conclusion respecting the relative situation of ryots and zemíndárs."

Mr. Ross, a judge of the Chief Court, likewise, in a very judicious minute of 22d March, 1827 *, states that a fixed rate never was claimed by mere ryots, whether resident or non-resident, in the upper provinces; inquires when such a fixed rent was in force? and whether it was intended to remain fixed, however the value of the land might alter? and concludes as follows: — "As to the custom of the country, it has always been opposed to such a privilege, it being notorious that the zemíndárs and other superior landholders have at all times been in the practice of extorting from their ryots as much as the latter can afford to pay."

(M) Called in Hindostan páikásht; in Guzérat, ganwatti (leaseholder); in the Maratta country, upri; and under Madras, páikári and páracudi.

(N) They are called ashráf (well-born) in Hindostan, and pánder pésha in some parts of the Deckan.

(O) There is an acknowledged restriction on all permanent tenants, which prevents their cultivating any land within the village that does not belong to the landlord of whom they rent their fixed portion and their house; but not only permanent tenants, but village landholders themselves, occasionally hold land as temporary tenants in *other* villages. In some parts of India the government levies a tax on the permanent tenants of land paying revenue who farm other lands from persons exempt from payment; and

* Appendix to Report of 1832, p. 125.

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in some, the government officer endeavours to prevent their withdrawing from their assessed lands in any circumstances. This last, however, is reckoned mere violence and oppression.

(P) This system may be illustrated by the example of the petty state of Cach, which being of recent formation retains its original form unimpaired. "The whole revenue of this territory is under fifty lacs of cories (about sixteen lacs of rupees), and of this less than thirty lacs of cories belongs to the Ráo; the country which yields the remaining twenty lacs being assigned to the collateral branches of his highness's family, each of whom received a certain appanage on the death of the Ráo from whom it is immediately descended.

"The family of these chiefs is derived at a recent period from Tatta in Sind, and they are all sprung from a common ancestor, Humeerjee, whose son, Ráo Khengar, acquired the sovereignty of Cutch before the middle of the sixteenth century of our æra.

"The number of these chiefs is at present about 200, and the whole number of their tribe in Cutch is guessed at 10,000 or 12,000 persons. This tribe is called Jhareja. It is a branch of the Rájpúts. The Ráo's ordinary jurisdiction is confined to his own demesne, each Jhareja chief exercising unlimited authority within his lands. The Ráo can call on the Jharejas to serve him in war; but must furnish them with pay at a fixed rate while they are with his army. He is the guardian of the public peace, and as such chastises all robbers and other general enemies. It would seem that he ought likewise to repress private war, and to decide all disputes between chiefs; but this prerogative, though constantly exerted, is not admitted without dispute. Each chief has a similar body of kins-

men, who possess shares of the original appanage of the family, and stand in the same relation of nominal dependence to him that he bears to the Ráo. These kinsmen form what is called the bhyaud or brotherhood of the chiefs, and the chiefs themselves compose the bhyaud of the Ráo." *

The same practice, with some modifications, prevails through the whole of the Rájpút country.

The territories allotted to feudatories in Méwár (the first in rank of these states) was at one time more than three fourths of the whole†, and was increased by the improvidence of a more recent prince.

(Q) It must have been some check on this spirit of independence, that until within less than two centuries of the present time it was usual for all the chiefs, in Méwár at least, periodically to interchange their lands; a practice which must have tended to prevent their strengthening themselves in their possessions, either by forming connections or erecting fortifications.‡

The rapid increase of these appanages appears to have suggested to the governments the necessity of putting a limit to their encroachments on the remaining demesne. In Márwár, a few generations after the conquest, so little land was left for partition that some of the rája's sons were obliged to look to foreign conquest for an establishment§; and in Méwár, one set of descendants of early ránas seem to have been superseded, and probably in part dispossessed, by a more recent progeny. ||

* Minute on Cach, by the Governor of Bombay, dated January 26th, 1821.

† Colonel Tod's Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 141.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 164., and note on 165.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 20.

|| Ibid. vol. i. p. 168.

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(R) The following remarks apply to both descriptions of military jágírs.

Lands held for military service are subject to reliefs in the event of hereditary succession, and to still heavier fines when the heir is adoptive. They are subject to occasional contributions in cases of emergency. They cannot be sold or mortgaged for a longer period than that for which the assignment is made. Sub-infeudations are uncommon except among the Rájpúts, where they are universal.

There was no limitation of service, and no extra payments for service, in the original scheme of these grants.

Pecuniary payments at fixed rates in lieu of service, or rather on failure of service when called on, were common among the Marattas; and arbitrary fines were levied on similar occasions by the Rájpúts.

# MAHOMETANS.

## BOOK V.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE ARAB CONQUESTS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MAHOMETAN GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

### CHAP. I.

ARAB CONQUESTS.



Rise of the Mahometan religion.

The attacks either of Greeks or Barbarians had hitherto made no impression beyond the frontiers of Indiá, and the Hindús might have long remained undisturbed by foreign intrusion, if a new spirit had not been kindled in a nation till now as sequestered as their own.

The Arabs had been protected from invasion by their poverty, and prevented, by the same cause, from any such united exertion as might have enabled them to carry their arms abroad.

Their country was composed of some mountain tracts and rich oases, separated or surrounded by a sandy desert, like the coasts and islands of a sea.

The desert was scattered with small camps of predatory herdsmen, who pitched their tents where they could quench their thirst at a well of brackish water, and drove their camels over extensive tracts

where no other animal could have found a subsistence.

The settled inhabitants, though more civilised, were scarcely less simple in their habits, and were formed into independent tribes, between whom there could be little communication except by rapid journeys on horseback, or tedious marches under the protection of caravans.

The representative of the common ancestor of each tribe possessed a natural authority over it; but, having no support from any external power, he could only carry his measures by means of the heads of subordinate divisions, who depended, in their turn, on their influence with the members of the family of which they represented the progenitor.

The whole government was therefore conducted by persuasion; and there was no interference with personal independence, unless it directly affected the general interest.

Such a country must have trained its inhabitants to the extremes of fatigue and privation; the feuds of so many independent tribes and separate families must have made them familiar with danger in its most trying forms; and the violent passions and fervid imagination which they had from nature served to call forth the full exertion of any qualities they possessed.

Their laborious and abstemious lives appear in their compact form and their hard and fleshless muscles; while the keenness of their eye, their de-

termined countenance, and their grave demeanour, disclose the mental energy which distinguishes them among all other Asiatics.

Such was the nation that gave birth to the false prophet, whose doctrines have so long and so powerfully influenced a vast portion of the human race.

Mahomet, though born of the head family of one of the branches of the tribe of Korésh, appears to have been poor in his youth, and is said to have accompanied his uncle's camels in some of those long trading journeys which the simplicity and equality of Arab manners made laborious even to the wealthy.

A rich marriage early raised him to independence, and left him to pursue those occupations which were most congenial to his mind.

At this time the bulk of the Arab nation was sunk in idolatry or in worship of the stars, and their morals were under as little check of law as of religion.

The immigration of some Jewish and Christian tribes had, indeed, introduced higher notions both of faith and practice, and even the idolaters are said to have acknowledged a Supreme Being, to whom the other gods were subordinate; but the influence of these opinions was limited, and the slowness of Mahomet's progress is a sufficient proof that his doctrines were beyond his age.

The dreary aspect of external nature naturally drives an Arab to seek for excitement in contemplation, and in ideas derived from within; and Ma-

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homet had particular opportunities of indulging in such reveries during periods of solitude, to which he habitually retired.

His attention may have been drawn to the unity of God by his intercourse with a cousin of his wife's, who was skilled in Jewish learning, and who is said to have translated the Scriptures from Hebrew into Arabic*; but, however they were inspired, his meditations were so intense that they had brought him to the verge of insanity, before he gave way to the impulse which he felt within him, and revealed to his wife, and afterwards to a few of his family, that he was commissioned by the only God to restore his pure belief and worship.† Mahomet was at this time forty years of age, and three or four more years elapsed before he publicly announced his mission. During the next ten years he endured every species of insult and persecution‡; and he might have expired an obscure

* His name was Warka ben Naufel. See the "Tárïkhi Tabari," quoted by Colonel Kennedy in the *Bombay Literary Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 423.; Preliminary Discourse to Sale's "Korán," p. 43. of the first quarto; and Baron Hammer von Purgstall, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. VII. p. 172.

† See Colonel Kennedy, just quoted. The "Tárïkhi Tabari" was written in the third century of the Hijra (from 800 to 900, A.D.), and is the earliest account accessible to European readers of the rise of the Mahometan religion. Its description of the mental agitation of Mahomet, his fancied visions, and his alarm at the alienation of his own reason, bear the liveliest marks of truth and nature.

‡ "He allowed himself to be abused, to be spit upon, to have dust thrown upon him, and to be dragged out of the temple by

enthusiast, if the gradual progress of his religion, and the death of his uncle and protector, Abu Tâleb, had not induced the rulers of Mecca to determine on his death. In this extremity, he fled to Medína, resolved to repel force by force; and, throwing off all the mildness which had hitherto characterised his preaching, he developed the full vigour of his character, and became more eminent for his sagacity and boldness as a leader than he had been for his zeal and endurance as a missionary.

At the commencement of Mahomet's preaching, he seems to have been perfectly sincere; and, although he was provoked by opposition to support his pretensions by fraud, and in time became habituated to hypocrisy and imposture, yet it is probable that, to the last, his original fanaticism continued, in part at least, to influence his actions.

But, whatever may have been the reality of his zeal, and even the merit of his doctrine, the spirit of intolerance in which it was preached, and the bigotry and bloodshed which it engendered and perpetuated, must place its author among the worst enemies of mankind.

Up to his flight to Medína, Mahomet had uniformly disclaimed force as an auxiliary to his cause. He now declared that he was authorised to have recourse to arms in his own defence; and, soon

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his own turban fastened to his neck." (Colonel Kennedy, *Bombay Literary Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 429.)

after, that he was commanded to employ them for the conversion or extermination of unbelievers. This new spirit seems to have agreed well with that of his countrymen; for, though he had but nine followers on his first military expedition, yet before his death, which happened in the twenty-third year of his mission, and the tenth after his flight*, he had brought all Arabia under his obedience, and had commenced an attack on the dominions of the Roman emperor.

But it was not to a warlike spirit alone that he was indebted for his popularity. He was a reformer as well as a conqueror. His religion was founded on the sublime theology of the Old Testament; and, however his morality may appear to modern Christians, it was pure compared with the contemporary practice of Arabia. His law, also, which prohibited retaliation without the previous sanction of a trial and sentence, was a bold attempt to bridle the vindictive passions of his countrymen, so long fostered by the practice of private war.

The conversion of the Arabs, therefore, was probably as sincere as it was general; and their religious spirit being now thoroughly aroused, every feeling of their enthusiastic nature was turned into that one channel: to conquer in the cause of God, or to die in asserting his unity and greatness, was the longing wish of every Mussulman; the love of power or spoil, the thirst of glory, and even the

* A.D. 732.

hopes of Paradise, only contributed to swell the tide of this absorbing passion.

The circumstances, both political and religious, of the neighbouring countries, were such as to encourage the warmest hopes of these fanatical adventurers.

The Roman empire was broken and dismembered by the Barbarians; and Christianity was degraded by corruptions, and weakened by the controversies of irreconcileable sects. Persia was sinking in the last stage of internal decay; and her cold and lifeless superstition required only the touch of opposition to bring it to the ground.* In this last country, at least, the religion of the Arabs must have contributed to their success almost as much as their arms. The conversion of Persia was as complete as its conquest; and, in later times, its example spread the religion of the Arabs among powerful nations who were beyond the utmost influence of their power.†

Mahomet's attack on the Roman empire was in the direction of Syria; and, within six years after his death‡, that province and Egypt had been sub-

* The temporal power acquired by the false prophet Mazdak, who nearly enslaved the king and people of Persia, shows the state of religious feeling in that country shortly before the birth of Mahomet.

† The text refers particularly to the Tartar nations; but China, the Malay country, and the Asiatic islands are further proofs of the extension of the religion of the Mussulmans, independent of their arms.

‡ A.D. 638.

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dued by his successors. Roman Africa* and Spain† followed in succession; and, within a century from the death of their founder, the Mahometans had pushed their conquests into the heart of France.‡

Conquest of Persia.

These extensive operations did not retard their enterprises towards the East. Persia was invaded in A.D. 632; her force was broken in the great battle of Cadesia in A.D. 636; and, after two more battles§, her government was entirely destroyed, and her king driven into exile beyond the Oxus.

At the death of the second calif, Omar‖, the whole of Persia as far east as Herát, nearly co-extensive with the present kingdom, was annexed to the Arab empire.

A.D. 650, A.H. 30.

In the year 650, an insurrection in Persia induced the exiled monarch to try his fortune once more. His attempt failed: he was himself cut off in the neighbourhood of the Oxus; and the Arab frontier was advanced to that river, including Balkh and all the country north of the range of Hindú Cúsh.

A.D. 651, A.H. 31. Extended to the Indus.

The boundary on the east was formed by the rugged tract which extends (north and south) from those mountains to the sea, and (east and west) from the Persian desert to the Indus.

The northern portion of the tract which is in-

* From A.D. 647 to 709. † A.D. 713.

‡ The defeat of the Mussulmans by Charles Martel took place in 732, between Poitiers and Tours.

§ Jallálla in A.D. 637, Neháwend in A.D. 642.

‖ A.D. 644. Hijra 23.

cluded in the branches of Hindú Cúsh, and is now inhabited by the Eimáks and Házárehs, was then known by the name of the mountains of Ghór. The middle part seems all to have been included in the mountains of Solimán. The southern portion was known by the name of the mountains of Mecrán.

There is a slip of sandy desert between these last mountains and the sea; and the mountains of Solimán inclose many high-lying plains, besides one tract of that description (extending west from the neighbourhood of Ghazni) which nearly separates them from the mountains of Ghór.

At the time of the Mahometan invasion the mountains of Mecrán were inhabited by Belóches, and those of Solimán by Afgháns; as is the state of things to this day.

Who were in possession of the mountains of Ghór is not so certain; but there is every reason to think they were Afgháns. The other mountains connected with the same range as those of Ghór, but situated to the east of the range of Imaus and Solimán, were probably inhabited by Indians, descendants of the Paropamisadæ.

With respect to the plains, if we may judge from the present state of the population, those between the Solimán and Mecrán mountains and the Indus were inhabited by Indians, and those in the upper country, to the west of those mountains, by Persians.

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The first recorded invasion of this unsubdued tract was in the year of the Hijra 44, when an Arab force from Merv penetrated to Cábul, and made converts of 12,000 persons.*

The prince of Cábul, also, must have been made tributary, if not subject, for his revolt is mentioned as the occasion of a fresh invasion of his territories in 62 of the Hijra.†

On this occasion the Arabs met with an unexpected check: they were drawn into a defile, defeated, and compelled to surrender, and to purchase their freedom by an ample ransom. One old contemporary of the Prophet is said to have disdained all compromise, and to have fallen by the swords of the infidels.‡

The disgrace was immediately revenged by the Arab governor of Sístán; it was more completely effaced in the year 80 of the Hijra, when Abdurehmán, governor of Khorásán, led a large army in person against Cábul, and, avoiding all the snares laid for him by the enemy, persevered until he had reduced the greater part of the country to submission. His success did not afford satisfaction to his superior, and the notice taken of it led to results beyond the sphere in which it originated.

Abdurehmán, as well as all the generals in Persia, was under the control of the governor of Basra, who at that time was Hejáj, so noted in Arabian

* A.D. 664. (*Briggs's Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 4.)

† A.D. 682. (Ibid. p. 5.)

‡ Price, from the *Kholásat al Akhbár*, vol. i. p. 454.

history for his furious and sanguinary disposition. This person is said to have remarked, after an interview with Abdurehmán, that he was a handsome man, but that he never looked on him without feeling a violent inclination to cut his throat. These kindly feelings led to so bitter a censure on this occasion, that Abdurehmán, stung with the unmerited reproaches of his chief, and perhaps apprehending more serious effects from his hatred, immediately made an alliance with his late enemy the prince of Cábul, and, assembling a numerous army, appeared in open rebellion, not only against the governor but the calif.* He marched through Persia, defeated Hejáj, and took Basra, after which he continued his march and took possession of Cúfa, lately the capital of the empire. But fresh succours being continually sent by the calif†, who then resided at Damascus, he was at length defeated, and after a struggle of two years was obliged to fly to his old government, and was on the point of being made prisoner in Sístán, when he was relieved by his ally the prince of Cábul.‡ He again assembled a force, and renewed his opposition, until, after repeated failures, he was constrained to take refuge at Cábul. His friend's fidelity was not proof against so many trials; and in the sixth year of the revolt he was obliged to save himself

* A.D. 699, Hijra 80.

† Abdelmelek, one of the califs of the house of Ommeia.

‡ A.D. 702, Hijra 83.

from being given up to his enemies by a voluntary death.*

During all this time Ferishta represents the Afgháns to have been Mussulmans, and seems to have been led, by their own traditions, to believe that they had been converted in the time of the Prophet himself. He represents them as invading the territory of the Hindús as early as the year 63 of the Hijra, and as being ever after engaged in hostilities with the rája of Láhór, until, in conjunction with the Gakkars (a people on the hills east of the Indus), they brought him to make them a cession of territory, and in return secretly engaged to protect him from the attacks of the other Mussulmans. It was owing to this compact, says Ferishta, that the princes of the house of Sámáni

* The "Kholásat al Akhbár" and the "Taríkhi Tabari," quoted by Price (vol. i. pp. 455—463.). The whole story of Abdurehmán is omitted by Ferishta; but it rests on too good authorities, and is too circumstantial and too much interwoven with the general history of the califs, to allow us to doubt the truth of it. There are various opinions about the nation of the prince of Cábul, which is rendered doubtful from the situation of his city, at a corner where the countries of the Paropamisan Indians, the Afgháns, the Persians, and the Tartars are closely adjoining to each other. It is very improbable that he was an Afghán, as Cábul is never known to have been possessed by a tribe of that nation; and I should suppose he was a Persian, both from the present population of his country, and from the prince of Cábul being often mentioned by Ferdousi (who wrote at Ghazni), as engaged in war and friendship with the Persian heroes, without anything to lead us to suppose that he belonged to another race.

never invaded the north of India, but confined their predatory excursions to Sind. CHAP. I.

He also mentions that the Afghâns gave an asylum to the remains of the Arabs who were driven out of Sind in the second century of the Hijra.

Setting aside the fable of their connection with the Prophet, this account does not appear improbable. The Afghâns, or a part of them, may have been early converted, although not conquered until the time of Sultán Mahmúd.

In the accessible parts of their country, especially on the west, they may have been early reduced to submission by the Arabs; but there are parts of the mountains where they can hardly be said to be entirely subdued even to this day.

We know nothing of their early religion, except the presumption, arising from the neighbourhood of Balkh and their connection with Persia, that they were worshippers of fire. Mahometan historians afford no light, owing to their confounding all denominations of infidels.

First incursion into India, A.D. 664.

The first appearance of the Mahometans in India was in the year of the Hijra 44, at the time of their first expedition to Cábul.

Mohálib, afterwards an eminent commander in Persia and Arabia, was detached, on that occasion, from the invading army, and penetrated to Multán, from whence he brought back many prisoners. It is probable that his object was only to explore the intermediate country, and that his report was not

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encouraging: from whatever cause, no further attempt was made on the north of India during the continuance of the Arab rule.

Conquest of Sind by the Arabs.

The next invasion was of a more permanent nature. It was carried on from the south of Persia into the country at the mouth of the Indus, then subject to a Hindú prince, called Dáhir by the Mussulmans, whose capital was at Alór near Bakkar, and who was in possession of Multán and all Sind, with, perhaps, the adjoining plain of the Indus as far as the mountains at Cálabágh. His territory was portioned out among his relations, probably on the feudal tenure still common with the Rájpúts.*

Arab descents on Sind by sea are mentioned as early as the califate of Omar; but, if they ever took place, they were probably piratical expeditions for the purpose of carrying off the women of the country, whose beauty seems to have been much esteemed in Arabia.†

Several detachments were also sent through the south of Mecrán during the reigns of the early califs, but seem all to have failed from the desert

* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 401, &c. See also Captain M'Murdo, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. I. p. 36. Abulfazl makes Dáhir's dominions include Cashmír; but that country was then in possession of one of its greatest rájas; for whom, like all considerable Hindú princes, his historians claim the conquest of all India. Sind is almost the only part of it with which they pretend to no connection. The native accounts quoted by Captain Pottinger (p. 386.) extend the dominions of Sind to Cábul and Márwár; and those given to Captain Burnes (vol. iii. p. 76.) add Candahár and Canouj.

† Pottinger, p. 388.

character of the country; which was that so well known under the name of Gedrosia, for the sufferings of Alexander's army. CHAP. I.

At length, in the reign of the calif Walíd, the Mussulman government was provoked to a more strenuous exertion. An Arab ship having been seized at Díval or Déwal, a sea port connected with Sind, Rája Dáhir was called on for restitution. He declined compliance on the ground that Déwal was not subject to his authority: his excuse was not admitted by the Mussulmans; and they sent a body of 1000 infantry and 300 horse to enforce their demand. This inadequate detachment having perished like its predecessors, Hejáj, the governor of Basra, prepared a regular army of 6000 men at Shíráz, and gave the command of it to his own nephew, Mohammed Cásim, then not more than twenty years of age; and by him it was conducted in safety to the walls of Déwal. Cásim was provided with catapultas and other engines required for a siege, and commenced his operations by an attack on a temple contiguous to the town. It was a celebrated pagoda, surrounded by a high inclosure of hewn stone (like those which figure in our early wars in the Carnatic), and was occupied, in addition to the numerous Bramin inhabitants, by a strong garrison of Rájpúts. A.D. 711, A.H. 92.

While Cásim was considering the difficulties opposed to him, he was informed by some of his prisoners that the safety of the place was believed to depend on the flag which was displayed on

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the tower of the temple. He directed his engines against that sacred standard, and at last succeeded in bringing it to the ground; which occasioned so much dismay in the garrison as to cause the speedy fall of the place.

Cásim at first contented himself with circumcising all the Bramins; but, incensed at their rejection of this sort of conversion, he ordered all above the age of seventeen to be put to death, and all under it, with the women, to be reduced to slavery. The fall of the temple seems to have led to that of the town, and a rich booty was obtained, of which a fifth (as in all similar cases) was reserved for Hejáj, and the rest equally divided. A son of Dáhir's, who was in Déwal, either as master or as an ally, retreated, on the reduction of that city, to Brámanábád, to which place, according to Ferishta, he was followed by the conqueror, and compelled to surrender on terms. Cásim then advanced on Nérún (now Heiderábád), and thence upon Sehwán, of which he undertook the siege.*

Notwithstanding the natural strength of Sehwán, it was evacuated at the end of seven days, the garrison flying to a fortress called Sálim, which was likewise speedily reduced.

Thus far Cásim's progress had met with little serious opposition. He was now confronted by a powerful army under the command of the rája's eldest son; and his carriage cattle failing about the

* See Captain M'Murdo, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. I. pp. 30. 32.

same time, he was constrained to take post, and to wait for reinforcements, and a renewal of his equipments. He was joined in time by 2000 * horse from Persia, and was enabled to renew his operations, and to advance, though not without several indecisive combats, to the neighbourhood of Alór itself.

Here he found himself opposed to the rája in person, who advanced to defend his capital at the head of an army of 50,000 men; and, being impressed with the dangers of his situation, from the disproportion of his numbers, and the impossibility of retreat in case of failure, he availed himself of the advantage of the ground, and awaited the attack of the Hindús in a strong position which he had chosen. His prudence was seconded by a piece of good fortune. During the heat of the attack which was made on him, a fire-ball struck the rája's elephant, and the terrified animal bore its master off the field, and could not be stopped until it had plunged into the neighbouring river. The disappearance of the chief produced its usual effect on Asiatic armies; and although Dáhir, already wounded with an arrow, mounted his horse and renewed the battle with unabated courage, he was unable to restore the fortune of the day, and fell fighting gallantly in the midst of the Arabian cavalry.†

* Táríkhi Hind o Sind.

† This battle must have taken place on the left bank of the Indus, though there is no particular account of Cásim's crossing that river. He first approached the right or western bank at a

The pusillanimity of the rájah's son, who fled to Brámanábád, was compensated by the masculine spirit of his widow. She collected the remains of the routed army, put the city into a posture of defence, and maintained it against the attacks of the enemy, until the failure of provisions rendered it impossible to hold out longer. In this extremity her resolution did not desert her, and the Rájpút garrison, inflamed by her example, determined to devote themselves along with her, after the manner of their tribe. The women and children were first sacrificed in flames of their own kindling; the men bathed, and, with other ceremonies, took leave of each other and of the world; the gates were then thrown open, the Rájpúts rushed out sword in hand, and, throwing themselves on the weapons of their enemies, perished to a man.

Those of the garrison who did not share in this act of desperation gained little by their prudence: the city was carried by assault, and all the men in arms were slaughtered in the storm. Their families were reduced to bondage. *

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place called Ráwer. The Hindús drew up on the opposite bank, and many movements were made on both sides before a passage was effected. The places named on those occasions are Jíwar, Bét, and Ráwer as above mentioned. It seems to have been after crossing that Cásim drew up his army at Jehem and Gogand, and before the battle he was at Sagára, a dependency of Jehem. These places are not now in the maps. (*Táríkhi Hind o Sind.*)

* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 409.; Tod's Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 327.

One more desperate stand was made at Ashcandra *, after which Multán seems to have fallen without resistance, and the Mahometans pursued their success unopposed, until they had occupied every part of the dominions of Rája Dáhir. †

Their treatment of the conquered country showed the same mixture of ferocity and moderation which characterised the early conquests of the Arabs.

* Pottinger, p. 390.; M'Murdo, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. I. p. 31.

† Déwal was probably somewhere near Koráchi, the present sea port of Sind. It could not be at Tatta, as supposed by Ferishta, because that city, though the great port for the river navigation, is inaccessible from the sea; the bar at the mouth of the river rendering the entrance impracticable, except for flat-bottomed boats (see Captain M'Murdo, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, p. 29., and *Burnes's Travels*, vol. iii. p. 242., with the whole of his description of the mouths of the Indus, in Chap. IV.). The site of Brámanábád is generally supposed to be marked by the ruins close to the modern town of Tatta. (Burnes, vol. iii. p. 31., and the opinions of the natives stated by Captain M'Murdo in a note, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. I. p. 28.) Captain M'Murdo is singular in supposing it to have been situated on the other side of the present course of the Indus, much to the north-east of Tatta; though this position would make it a more natural retreat for the son of Dáhir after his flight from A'lór. There were, perhaps, two different places, — Bráhmanábád and Bráhmana. Sehwán still retains its name, and the ruins of A'lór (universally recognised as the ancient capital of Sind) were visited by Captain Burnes, close to Bakkar on the Indus. (*Travels*, vol. iii. p. 76.) There are some doubts about particular marches of Mohammed Cásim, especially about the site of Sálim, and the point where he crossed the Indus; but there is no obscurity about his general progress. Briggs's "Ferishta" calls the scene of the great battle and siege Ajdar; but this is probably an error of the copyist for A'ror, which is a very common name for A'lor.

On the first invasion, each city was called on, as the army approached, to embrace the Mahometan religion, or to pay tribute. In case of refusal, the city was attacked, and if it did not capitulate, all the fighting men were put to death, and their families were sold for slaves. Four cities held out to this extremity; and in two of them, the number of soldiers who were refused quarter is estimated at 6000 each. The merchants, artizans, and other inhabitants of such places, were exempt from all molestation, except such as we must conclude they suffered when a town was stormed.

When tribute was once agreed to, whether voluntarily or by compulsion, the inhabitants were entitled to all their former privileges, including the free exercise of their religion. When a sovereign consented to pay tribute, he retained his territory, and only became subject to the usual relations of a tributary prince.

One question relating to toleration seemed so nice, that Cásim thought it necessary to refer it to Arabia. In the towns that were stormed, the temples had been rased to the ground, religious worship had been forbidden, and the lands and stipends of the Bramins had been appropriated to the use of the state. To reverse these acts, when once performed, seemed a more direct concession to idolatry than merely abstaining from interference, and Cásim avowed himself uncertain what to do. The answer was, that as the people of the towns in question had paid tribute, they were entitled to

all the privileges of subjects; that they should be allowed to rebuild their temples and perform their rites; that the land and money of the Bramins should be restored; and that three per cent. on the revenue, which had been allowed to them by the Hindú government, should be continued by the Mussulman.

Cásim himself, notwithstanding his extreme youth, seems to have been prudent and conciliating. He induced several of the Hindú princes to join with him during the war, and at the conclusion he appointed the Hindú who had been Dáhir's prime minister to the same office under him, on the express ground that he would be best qualified to protect old rights, and to maintain established institutions.*

* Táríkhi Hind o Sind, Persian MS. I did not see this work, which is in the library at the India House, until the narrative of Cásim's military transactions had been completed. It seems to be the source from which most of the other accounts are drawn. In its present form it was written by Mohammed Ali Bin Hamíd, in Hijra 613, A.D. 1216; but it professes to be a translation of an Arabic work found in the possession of the Cázi of Bakkar; and the original must have been written immediately after the event, as it constantly refers, by name, to the authority of living witnesses. Though loaded with tedious speeches, and letters ascribed to the principal actors, it contains a minute and consistent account of the transactions during Mohammed Cásim's invasion, and some of the preceding Hindú reigns. It is full of names of places, and would throw much light on the geography of that period, if examined by any person capable of ascertaining the ancient Shanscrit names, so as to remove the corruptions of the original Arab writer and the translator, besides the innumerable errors of the copyist.

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The Mahometan writers assert that Cásim had begun to plan a march to Canouj on the Ganges, and an almost contemporary historian * states that he had reached a place which seems to mean Oudipúr; but as he had only 6000 men at first, which the 2000 recruits afterwards received would not do more than keep up to their original number, it is inconceivable that he should have projected such an expedition, even if he could have left Sind without an army of occupation.

In the midst of his projects a sudden reverse was awaiting him. The Mahometan historians concur in relating that among the numerous female captives in Sind were two daughters of Rája Dáhir, who, from their rank and their personal charms, were thought worthy of being presented to the Commander of the Faithful. † They were accordingly sent to the court and introduced into the harem. When the eldest was brought into the presence of the calif, whose curiosity had been stimulated by reports of her attractions, she burst into a flood of tears, and exclaimed that she was now unworthy of his notice, having been dishonoured by Cásim before she was sent out of her own country. The Calif was moved by her beauty, and enraged at the insult offered to him by his servant; and, giving way to the first impulse of his resentment, he sent orders that Cásim should be sewed up in a raw hide, and sent in that con-

* Táríkhi Hind o Sind.

† Walíd, the sixth calif of the house of Ommeia.

dition to Damascus. When his orders were executed, he produced the body to the princess, who was overjoyed at the sight, and exultingly declared to the astonished calif that Cásim was innocent, but that she had now revenged the death of her father and the ruin of her family.*

Their expulsion.

A. D. 714, A. H. 96.

The advance of the Mahometan arms ceased with the life of Cásim. His conquests were made over to his successor Temím, in the hands of whose family they remained till the downfal of the house of Ommeia, that is, for about thirty-six years; when, by some insurrection of which we do not know the particulars, the Mussulmans were expelled by the Rájpút tribe of Súmera, and all their Indian conquests restored to the Hindús, who retained possession for nearly 500 years. †

A. D. 750, A. H. 132.

Causes of the slow progress of the Mahometans in India.

It seems extraordinary that the Arabs, who had reached to Multán during their first ardour for conquest and conversion, should not have overrun India as easily as they did Persia, and should now allow themselves to be beaten out of a province where they had once a firm footing; but the condition of the two countries was not the same; and, although the proverbial riches of India, and the inoffensive character of its inhabitants, seemed to invite an invader, yet there were discouraging

* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 410.; A'yeni Akberi, vol. ii. p. 119.; Pottinger's Travels, p. 389.

† Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 411.; A'yeni Akberi, vol. ii. p. 120. Part of the expelled Arabs found a settlement among the Afgháns. (*Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 7.)

circumstances, which may not have been without effect even on the blind zeal of the Arabs.

In Persia, the religion and government, though both assailed, afforded no support to each other. The priests of the worshippers of fire are among the most despised classes of the people.* Their religion itself has nothing inspiring or encouraging. The powers of good and evil are so equally matched, that the constant attention of every man is necessary to defend himself by puerile ceremonies against the malignant spirits from whom his deity is too weak to protect him.†

To the believers of such a faith, uninfluenced as they were by a priesthood, the annunciation of "one God, the most powerful and the most merciful," must have appeared like a triumph of the good principle; and when the overthrow of a single monarch had destroyed the civil government in all its branches, there remained no obstacle to the completion of the conquest and conversion of the nation.

But in India there was a powerful priesthood, closely connected with the government and deeply revered by their countrymen; and a religion interwoven with the laws and manners of the people, which exercised an irresistible influence over their

* For a very curious comparison of the ancient and modern tenets of the magi, see Mr. Erskine's Essay on the Sacred Books and Religion of the Pársís, in the *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, vol. ii. p. 295.

† Ibid. p. 335.

very thoughts. To this was joined a horror of change, and a sort of passive courage, which is perhaps the best suited to allow time for an impetuous attack to spend its force. Even the divisions of the Hindús were in their favour: the downfal of one rája only removed a rival from the prince who was next behind; and the invader diminished his numbers, and got further from his resources, without being able to strike a blow which might bring his undertaking to a conclusion.

However these considerations may have weighed with the early invaders, they deserve the greatest attention from the inquirer, for it is principally to them that we must ascribe the slow progress of the Mahometan religion in India, and the comparatively mild and tolerant form which it assumed in that country.

At the time of the transactions which we are now relating, there were other causes which tended to delay the progress of the Mahometans. The spirit of their government was gradually altered. Their chiefs from fanatical missionaries became politic sovereigns, more intent on the aggrandisement of their families than the propagation of their faith; and by the same degrees they altered from rude soldiers to magnificent and luxurious princes, who had other occupations besides war, and other pleasures as attractive as those of victory. Omar set out to his army at Jerusalem with his arms and provisions on the same camel with himself; and Othmán extinguished his lamp, when he had

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finished the labours of the day, that the public oil might not be expended on his enjoyments. Al Mahdi, within a century from the last named calif, loaded 500 camels with ice and snow; and the profusion of one day of the Abbassides would have defrayed all the expenses of the four first califs. The translation of the Greek philosophers by Al Mámun was an equally wide departure from the spirit which led to the story of the destruction of the library at Alexandria by Omar.

For these reasons the eastern conquests of the Arabs ceased with the transactions which we have just related; and the next attacks on India were made by other nations, to whose history we have now to turn.

Tartar nations.

A.D. 651, A.H. 31.

When the Arabs had conquered Persia, as before related, their possessions were divided by the Oxus from a territory to which, from that circumstance, they gave the name of Máwar ul Nahr, literally *Beyond the River;* or, as we translate it, *Transoxiana.* This tract was bounded on the north by the Jaxartes, on the west by the Caspian Sea, and on the east by Mount Imaus. Though large portions of it are desert, others are capable of high cultivation; and, while it was in the hands of the Arabs, it seems not to have been surpassed in prosperity by the richest portions of the globe. It was occupied partly by fixed inhabitants and partly by pastoral tribes. Most of the fixed inhabitants were Persians, and all the moving shepherds were Tartars. Such is likewise the state

of things at present, and probably has been from remote antiquity.*

The great influence which the Tartars† of Transoxiana have exercised over the history of the neighbouring nations, and of India, makes us anxious to know something of their origin and former state; but we soon meet with many difficulties in following up the inquiry. It would be an important step to ascertain to which of the *three* great nations whom we include under the name of Tartars they belonged; but, although the *Túrks*, *Moguls*, and *Mánchús* are distinguished from each other by the decisive test of language, and though at present they are each marked by other peculiarities, yet there is a general resemblance in features and manners throughout the whole, which renders it difficult for a person at a distance to draw the line between them; even their languages, though as different as Greek and Shanscrit, have the same degree of family likeness with those two.‡

* See *Erskine's Báber*, Introduction, p. xliii., and Heeren, *Researches in Asia*, vol. i. p. 260. The language at the time of the Arab conquest was Persian, of which a remarkable proof, dated in the year 94 of the Hijra (A.D. 716), is given by Captain Burnes. (*Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 269. 356.

† I use the words *Tartar* and *Tartary* solely in their European sense, as a general term for a certain great tract and great assemblage of nations. The word in this sense is as little known to the people to whom it applies as Asia, Africa, and America are to the original inhabitants of those quarters of the globe; but is equally convenient for the purpose of generalisation.

‡ See Dr. Prichard on the Ethnography of Upper Asia, *Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. ix.

In making the attempt, we derive little aid from their geographical position. At present the Mánchús are in the east, the Moguls in the centre, and the Túrks in the west; but the positions of the two last named races have been partially reversed within the period of accurate history, and it is impossible to say what they may have been in still earlier ages. The Arabs and other wandering tribes in the south of Asia make long journeys, for fresh pastures or for change of climate, but each has some tract which it considers as its own, and many occupy the same in which they were found when first noticed by other nations. Not so the Tartars, who have always been formed into great monarchies; and, besides migration for convenience within their own limits, have been led by ambition to general movements, and have been constantly expelling or subduing each other; so that they not only were continually changing their abodes, but forming new combinations and passing under new names according to that of the horde which had acquired a predominancy. A tribe is at one moment mentioned on the banks of the Wolga, and the next at the great wall of China; and a horde which at first scarcely filled a valley in the mountains of Altái, in a few years after cannot be contained in all Tartary.

It is, therefore, as impossible to keep the eye on a particular horde, and to trace it through all this shifting and mixing, as to follow one emmet through the turmoil of an ant hill.

The Túrks at present are distinguished from the rest by their having the Tartar features less marked, as well as by fairer complexions and more civilised manners; and these qualities might afford the means of recognising them at all times, if we could be sure that they did not owe them entirely to their greater opportunities of intermixing with other races, and that the same superiority was not possessed in former times by portions of the other Tartars which may have then occupied the western territory.*

It may assist in distinguishing these races, to mention that the Uzbeks who now possess Transoxiana, the Túrcmans both on the Oxus and in Asia Minor, the wandering tribes of the north of

* The Túrks of Constantinople and Persia have so completely lost the Tartar features, that some physiologists have pronounced them to belong to the Caucasian or European, and not to the Tartar, race. The Túrks of Bokhára and all Transoxiana, though so long settled among Persians, and though greatly softened in appearance, retain their original features sufficiently to be recognisable at a glance as Tartars. De Guignes, from the state of information in his time, was seldom able to distinguish the Tartar nations; but on one point he is decided and consistent, viz. that the Heoung-nou is another name for the Túrks. Among the Heoung-nou he places, without hesitation, Attila, and the greater part of his army. Yet these *Túrks*, on their appearance in Europe, struck as much terror from their hideous physiognomy and savage manners as from their victories. Attila himself was remarkable for these national peculiarities. (Gibbon, vol. iii. p. 35. quarto.) Another division of the same branch of the Heoung-nou had previously settled among the Persians in Transoxiana, and acquired the name of White Huns, from their change from the national complexion. (De Guignes, vol. ii. pp. 282. 325.)

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Persia, and the Ottomans or Turks of Constantinople, are all *Túrks ;* as was the greater part of the army of Tamerlane. The ruling tribe, and the greater part of the army of Chengíz Khán, was Mogul.

Túrks in Trans-oxiana.

On the whole, I should suppose that a portion of the Túrks had settled in Transoxiana long before the Christian æra; that though often passed over by armies and emigrations of Moguls, they had never since been expelled; and that they formed the bulk of the Nomadic and part of the permanent population at the time of the Arab invasion.*

The ruling tribe at that time was, however, of much later arrival; they were probably Túrks themselves, and certainly had just before been incorporated with an assemblage, in which that race took the lead, and which, although it had been tributary to Persia only a century before†, had since possessed an ephemeral empire, extending from the Caspian Sea and the Oxus, to the Lake Báikal, and the mouths of the Yanisei in Siberia‡, and were now again broken into small divisions and tributary to China.§

* The Arab and Persian Mussulmans always call their neighbours *Túrks,* and (though well aware of the existence of the Moguls) are apt to apply the term *Túrk* as vaguely and generally as we do *Tartar.* See the whole of this subject ably discussed in the introduction to Erskine's "Baber," pp. xviii.—xxv.

† De Guignes, vol. i. part ii. p. 469.

‡ Ibid. pp. 477, 478.

§ Ibid. p. 493.

CHAP. I.

Arab conquest of Transoxiana. A. D. 670—712, A. H. 87—93

It was fifty-five years after the final conquest of Persia, and five years before the occupation of Sind, that the Arabs crossed the Oxus, under Cátiba, governor of Khorásán. He first occupied Hisár, opposite Balkh. In the course of the next six years he had taken Samarcand and Bokhára, overrun the country north of the Oxus, and subdued the kingdom of Khárizm, on the Lake of Aral*; and although his power was not introduced without a severe contest, often with doubtful success, against the Túrks, yet in the end it was so well established, that by the eighth year he was able to reduce the kingdom of Ferghána, and extend his acquisitions to Mount Imaus and the Jaxartes. A.D. 713, A.H. 94.

The conquest of Spain took place in the same year; and the Arab empire had now reached the greatest extent to which it ever attained.

But it had already shown symptoms of internal decay which foreboded its dismemberment at no distant period.

Even in the first half century of the Hijra, the murder of Othmán and the incapacity of Ali led to a successful revolt, and the election of a calif beyond the limits of Arabia. The house of Ommeia, who were thus raised to the califate, were disturbed during their rule of ninety years by the supposed rights of the posterity of the Prophet through his daughter Fátima, whose claims A.D. 658, A.H. 38.

* Now called Khíva or O'rganj.

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afforded a pretext in every case of revolt or defection; until, in A. D. 750, the rebellion of the great province of Khorásán gave the last blow to their power, and placed the descendants of Abbás, the Prophet's uncle, on the throne.

Spain held out for the old dynasty, and the integrity of the empire was never restored.

# CHAP. II.

## DYNASTIES FORMED AFTER THE BREAKING UP OF THE EMPIRE OF THE CALIFS.

CHAP. II.

THE death of Hárún al Rashíd, fifth calif of the house of Abbás, was accelerated by a journey undertaken in consequence of an obstinate revolt of Transoxiana*, which was quelled by his son, Mámún; and the long residence of that prince in Khorásán maintained for a time the connection of that province with the empire. But it was by means of a revolt of Khorásán that Mámún had himself been enabled to wrest the califate from his brother Amín; and he had not long removed his court to Bagdad, before Táhir, who had been the principal instrument of his elevation, began to establish his own authority in Khorásán, and soon became virtually independent.† Khorásán and Transoxiana were never again united to the califate; and the Commanders of the Faithful being not long afterwards reduced to pageants in the hands of the Turkish guards, the dissolution of the Arab empire may from that time be regarded as complete.‡

A.D. 806, A.H. 190.

A.D. 820, A.H. 205

A.D. 861, A.H. 247.

The family of Táhir ruled quietly and obscurely

The Taherites. A. D. 820—872.

* Price, vol. ii. p. 79. His authority is, generally, the "Tárikhi Tabari."

† Ibid. p. 225.

‡ Ibid. p. 155.

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for upwards of fifty years, when they were deposed by the Sofarides, a more conspicuous dynasty, though of even shorter duration.* Yácúb, the son of Leith, the founder, was a brazier of Sístán, who first raised a revolt in his native province, and afterwards overran all Persia to the Oxus, and died while on his advance against the calif in Bagdad. His brother, Omar, was defeated and made prisoner by the Sámánis; which put an end to the greatness of the family, though a younger member maintained himself in Sístán for a few years after the loss of their other possessions. †

A.D. 872, A.H. 259. The Sofarides. A.D. 872—903.

A.D. 903, A.H. 290.

Their whole reign did not last above forty years; but their memory must have survived in Sístán, for at the end of half a century we find that country again asserting its independence under one of their descendants ‡, who was finally subdued by Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazni, more than 100 years after the downfal of the original dynasty. §

A.D. 964, A.H. 353. A.D. 1006, A.H. 396.

The house of Sámáni subsisted for more than 120 years ||; and though not themselves invaders of India, they had more connection than their predecessors with the history of that country.

The house of Sámáni. A.D. 872—999.

They derive their name either from one of their ancestors, or from a town in Bokhára, or in Balkh, from which they drew their origin. ¶ The first of the family mentioned in history was already a per-

* Price, vol. ii. p. 229.
† Ibid. p. 234.
‡ Ibid. p. 243.
§ Ibid. p. 282.
|| From A.D. 892, A.H. 279, to A.D. 1004, A.H. 395.
¶ Ouseley's Ebn Haukal, p. 304.

son of consideration, when he attracted the notice of the Calif Mámún, then residing in Khorásán. By the directions of that prince, three of the Sámáni's sons were appointed to governments beyond the Oxus, and one to that of Herát. They were continued under the Táherites, and retained Transoxiana after the fall of that dynasty, till the death of Yácúb Leith; when they passed the Oxus at the head of a large army of cavalry, probably composed of their Túrki subjects, made Omar Leith prisoner, as has been related, and took possession of all the territory he had conquered. They governed it in the name, though perfectly independent of the calif, until they were deprived of a large portion of it by the family of Búya, called also the Deilemites, from the district in Mázenderán in which their founder was a fisherman on the Caspian Sea.

A.D. 817—280, A.H. 202—205.

A.D. 900, A.H. 287.

The Búyades or Deilemites.

Cut off by a high range of mountains from the rest of Persia, and protected by the difficulty of access, the extensive forests, and the unwholesome climate, Mázenderán had never been perfectly converted, and probably never entirely subdued: it was the seat of constant insurrections, was often in the hands of worshippers of fire, and presented a disturbed scene, in which the Deilemites rose to consequence, and at length acquired sufficient force to wrest the western provinces of Persia from the Sámánis, to seize on Bagdad and the person of the calif, and to rule over an extensive territory in his name for a period exceeding 100 years.

A.D. 932—1055, A.H. 321—448.

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After their losses by the Deilemite conquests, the Sámánis remained masters of Khorásán and Transoxiana, and gave rise to the dynasty of Ghazni, who were the founders of the Mussulman empire of India.

Alptegín, founder of the house of Ghazni.

It was in the reign of Abdulmelek, the fifth prince of the house of Sámáni, that Alptegín, the founder of this new dynasty, rose into importance. He was a Túrki slave, and his original duty is said to have been to amuse his master by tumbling and tricks of legerdemain.*

It was the fashion of the time to confer offices of trust on slaves; and Alptegín, being a man of good sense and courage, as well as integrity, rose in time to be governor of Khorásán. On the death of his patron†, he was consulted about the best person of the family for a successor; and happening, unluckily, to give his suffrage against Mansúr, on whom the choice of the other chiefs had fallen, he incurred the ill-will of his sovereign, was deprived of his government, and if he had not displayed great military skill in extricating himself from among his enemies, he would have lost his liberty, if not his life. He had, however, a body of trusty adherents, under whose protection he

A.D. 961, A.H. 350.

* D'Herbelot, article "Alpteghin."

† Price, vol. ii. p. 243.; De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 155. Ferishta (vol. i. p. 12.) makes *his revolt* A.D. 962, A.H. 351. D'Herbelot makes this date A.D. 917, A.H. 305; but it is evidently a slip, either of the author or the printer, for in the date of Alptegin's death he comes within a moderate distance of the other authorities.

made good his retreat, until he found himself in safety at Ghazni, in the heart of the mountains of Solimán. The plain country, including Balkh, Herát, and Sístán, received the new governor, and remained in obedience to the Sámánis; but the strong tract between that and the Indus bade defiance to all their attacks; and though not all subject to Alptegín, all contributed to secure his independence. One historian states that he was accompanied on his retreat by a body of 3000 disciplined slaves or Mamlúks, who would, of course, be Túrks of his own original condition *: he would doubtless also be accompanied and followed, from time to time, by soldiers who had served under him when governor; but it is probable that the main body of his army was drawn from the country where he was now established.†

His rebellion.

The inhabitants of the cultivated country were not unwarlike; and the Afgháns of the hills, even when their tribe did not acknowledge his authority, would be allured by his wages to enter his ranks. He seems to have made no attempt to extend his territory; and he died within fourteen years after he became independent. §

A.D. 976, A.H. 365. ‡

Alptegín had a slave named Sebektegín, whom he had purchased from a merchant who brought

Sebektegín.

* Price, from the "Kholásat al Akhbár," vol. ii. p. 243.

† D'Herbelot, article "Alpteghin."

‡ D'Herbelot makes it A. D. 964, A. H. 353.

§ Price, vol. ii. p. 244.; Ferishta, vol. i. p. 13.; De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 156.

him from Túrkestán, and whom, by degrees, he had raised to so much power and trust, that at his death he was the effective head of his government, and in the end became his successor.

Most authorities assert that Alptegín gave Sebektegín his daughter in marriage, and himself appointed him his heir * ; and others confirm the immediate succession, though not the previous marriage. †

But Ferishta's account ‡ is, that Alptegín, dying in A.D. 975, A.H. 365, left a son named Isákh, whom Sebektegín accompanied to Bokhára. Isákh was then appointed by Mansúr Sámáni to be governor of Ghazni, and Sebektegín his deputy. Isákh died in A.D. 977, A.H. 367, when Sebektegín was acknowledged as his successor, and married Alptegín's daughter. §

He had scarcely time to take possession of his

* De Guignes (who quotes Abufeda), vol. ii. p. 156.; D'Herbelot (who quotes Khondemir).

† Price, vol. ii. p. 277. ‡ Briggs's Ferishta, vol. i. p. 13.

§ A story is told of Sebektegín, while yet a private horseman, which proves the humanity of the historian, if not of the hero. One day, in hunting, he succeeded in riding down a fawn; but when he was carrying off his prize in triumph, he observed the dam following his horse, and showing such evident marks of distress, that he was touched with compassion, and at last released his captive, pleasing himself with the gratitude of the mother, which often turned back to gaze at him as she went off to the forest with her fawn. That night the Prophet appeared to him in a dream, told him that God had given him a kingdom as a reward for his humanity, and enjoined him not to forget his feelings of mercy when he came to the exercise of power.

new kingdom before he was called on to exert himself in its defence.*

Invasion of Jeipál, rája of Láhór.

The establishment of a Mahometan government so near to their frontier as that of Ghazni must naturally have disquieted the Hindús on the Indus, and appears to have led to their being harassed by frequent incursions. At length Jeipál, rája of Láhór, whose dominions were contiguous to those of Ghazni, determined to become assailant in his turn. He led a large army into Laghmán, at the mouth of the valley which extends from Péshâwer to Cábul, and was there met by Sebektegín. While the armies were watching a favourable opportunity for engaging, they were assailed by a furious tempest of wind, rain, and thunder, which was ascribed to supernatural causes, and so disheartened the Indians, naturally more sensible to cold and wet than their antagonists, that Jeipál was induced to make proposals of an accommodation. Sebektegín was not at first disposed to hearken to him; but, being made aware of the consequence of driving Hindús to despair, he at length consented to treat; and Jeipál surrendered fifty elephants, and engaged to pay a large sum of money.

Repelled.

* From this time forward my principal dependence will be on Ferishta, a Persian historian, who long resided in India, and wrote, in the end of the sixteenth century, a history of all the Mahometan dynasties in that country down to his own time. I think myself fortunate in having the guidance of an author so much superior to most of his class in Asia. Where the nature of my narrative admitted of it, I have often used the very expressions of Ferishta, which, in Colonel Briggs's translation, it would be difficult to improve.

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When he found himself again in safety, he refused to fulfil this part of his agreement, and even threw the messengers sent to demand the execution of it into prison.

Hindú confederacy.

Sebektegín was not likely to submit to such an insult and breach of faith: he again assembled his troops, and recommenced his march towards the Indus, while Jeipál called in the assistance of the rájas of Delhi, Ajmír, Cálinjar, and Canouj, and advanced to Laghmán with an army of 100,000 horse, and a prodigious number of foot soldiers. Sebektegín ascended a height to view the enemy, and beheld the whole plain covered with their innumerable host; but he was nowise dismayed at the prospect; and, relying on the courage and discipline of his own troops, he commenced the attack with an assurance of victory. He first pressed one point of the Indian army with a constant succession of charges by fresh bodies of cavalry; and when he found them begin to waver, he ordered a general assault along the whole line: the Indians at once gave way, and were pursued, with a dreadful slaughter, to the Indus. Sebektegín found a rich plunder in their camp, and levied heavy contributions on the surrounding districts. He also took possession of the country up to the Indus, and left an officer, with ten thousand horse, as his governor of Péshâwer.

Defeated.

The Afghâns and Khiljis * of Laghmán im-

* The Khiljis, or Khaljis, are a Tartar tribe, part of which, in the tenth century, was still near the source of the Jaxartes

mediately tendered their allegiance, and furnished useful recruits to his army.*

After these expeditions, he employed himself in settling his own dominions (which now extended on the west to beyond Candahár); when an opportunity presented itself of promoting his own aggrandisement by a timely interposition in favour of his nominal sovereign.

Sebektegín assists the Sámánis against the eastern Tartars.

Nóh or Noah (the seventh of the Sámáni kings) had been driven from Bokhára, and forced to fly across the Oxus, by an invasion of Bógra Khán, king of the Hoeiké Tartars, who at that time possessed almost all Tartary beyond the Imaus, as far east as China.† The fortunate sickness, retreat, and death of Bógra Khán restored Nóh to his throne. An attempt he soon after made to punish the disaffection shown by his governor of Khorásán, during his misfortunes, drove that chief into an alliance with Fáik, another noble of Bokhára, whose turbulence makes a conspicuous figure for a long period in the latter days of the Sámánis;

A.D. 993, A.H. 383.

but of which a portion had even then been long settled between Sístán and India (*i.e.* in the Afghán country). In the tenth century they still spoke Túrki. They seem very early to have been closely connected with the Afgháns, with whom their name is almost invariably associated. (For their original stock and residence in Tartary, see De Guignes, vol. iii. p. 9. note; D'Herbelot, article "Khaladj;" Ebn Haukal, p. 209.; and for their abode in the Afghán country, Ibid. p. 207. This last author wrote between A.D. 902 and A.D. 968.)

* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. i. pp. 15—19.

† De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 157.; Price, vol. ii. p. 247.

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and the confederates, more anxious about their own interests than the safety of the state, called in the aid of the Deilemite prince who ruled in the adjoining provinces of Persia, and was well disposed to extend his dominions by promoting dissensions among his neighbours. To resist this powerful combination, Nóh had recourse to Sebektegín, and that leader marched towards Bokhára at the head of his army, more on the footing of an ally than a subject. He had stipulated, on the pretext of his infirmities, that he should not dismount at the meeting; but he no sooner came in sight of his sovereign, than he threw himself from his horse, and would have kissed the royal stirrup if he had not been prevented by Nóh, who hastened to receive him in his arms.

Their united force might not have been sufficient to oppose their enemies if it had not been for the treachery of the Deilemite general, who, in the critical moment of the action, threw his shield over his back as a sign of peace, and went over with his troops to Sebektegín. The rebels now evacuated their usurpations, and Nóh rewarded the services of Sebektegín, by confirming him in his own government, and conferring that of Khorásán on his son Mahmúd. But the rebels, though disconcerted at the moment, were able once more to collect their forces, and next year they returned so unexpectedly, that they surprised and defeated Mahmúd at Níshapúr. It was with some exertion that Sebektegín was enabled again to encounter

them. The contest ended in their being totally defeated in the neighbourhood of Tús (now Meshhed).* Their force was completely broken; and Fáik, abandoning the scene of his former importance, fled to E'lik Khan, the successor of Bógra, by whose powerful interposition he was soon after reconciled to Nóh, and appointed to the government of Samarcand.

A.D. 995, A.H. 387.

Immediately after this arrangement Nóh died; and E'lik Khán, profiting by the occasion of a new succession, advanced on Bokhára, supported by his ally from Samarcand, and ultimately compelled the new prince, Mansúr II., to place all the power of his government in the hands of Fáik.

Death of Sebektegín.

During these transactions Sebektegín died on his way back to Ghazni.†

* De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 158.; Price, vol. ii. p. 248.; Ferishta, vol. i. p. 22.

† He died within a month of Nóh, A.D. 997, A.H. 387. (Ferishta. De Guignes. Price. D'Herbelot.)

## HOUSE OF GHAZNI.

## CHAP. III.

### SULTÁN MAHMÚD.

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Disputed succession. A.D. 997, A.H. 387.

MAHMÚD had from his boyhood accompanied his father on his campaigns, and had given early indications of a warlike and decided character. He was now in his thirtieth year, and, from his tried courage and capacity, seemed in every way fitted to succeed to the throne; but his birth was probably illegitimate*, and, from his absence at his government of Níshapúr, his younger brother, Ismáel, was enabled, according to some accounts, to obtain the dying nomination of Sebektegín, and, certainly, to seize on the reins of government, and cause himself to be proclaimed without delay. Not the least of his advantages was the command of his father's treasures; he employed them to conciliate the leading men with presents, to augment the pay of the army, and to court popularity with all classes by a lavish expenditure on shows and entertainments.

By these means, though still more by the force of actual possession, and perhaps an opinion of his superior right, he obtained the support of all that part of the kingdom which was not under the immediate government of Mahmúd.

* See Colonel Briggs's note on Ferishta, vol. i. p. 29.

The conduct of the latter prince, on this contempt of his claims, may either have arisen from the consciousness of a weak title, or from natural or assumed moderation. He professed the strongest attachment to his brother, and the utmost readiness to give way to him if he had been of an age to undertake so arduous a duty; and he offered that, if Ismáel would concede the supremacy to his superior experience, he would repay the sacrifice by a grant of the provinces of Balkh and Khorásán. His offers were immediately rejected; and, seeing no further hopes of a reconciliation, he resolved to bring things to an issue by an attack on the capital. Ismáel, who was still at Balkh, penetrated his design, and, interposing between him and Ghazni, obliged him to come to a general engagement. It was better contested than might have been expected from the unequal skill of the generals, but was favourable to Mahmúd: Ghazni fell, Ismáel was made prisoner, and passed the rest of his life in confinement, though allowed every indulgence consistent with such a situation.

These internal contests, which lasted for seven months, contributed to the success of E'lik Khán, who had now established his own influence over Mansúr II., by compelling him to receive Fáik as his minister, or, in other words, his master.

Dissembling his consciousness of the ascendancy of his old enemies, Mahmúd made a respectful application to Mansúr for the continuance of his government of Khorásán. His request was ab-

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ruptly rejected, and a creature of the new administration appointed his successor.

But Mahmúd was not so easily dispossessed; he repelled the new governor, and although he avoided an immediate conflict with Mansúr, who was brought in person against him, he withheld all appearance of concession, and remained in full preparation for defence; when some disputes and jealousies at court led to the dethronement and blinding of Mansúr, and the elevation of Abdulmelek as the instrument of Fáik. On this, Mahmúd ordered the name of the Sámánis to be left out of the public prayers; took possession of Khorásán in his own name; and, having soon after received an investiture from the calif (the dispenser of powers which he himself no longer enjoyed), he declared himself an independent sovereign, and first assumed the title of Sultan, since so general among Mahometan princes.*

A.D. 999, A.H. 389. Mahmúd declares his independence.

E'lik Khán, not to be shut out of his share of the spoil, advanced on Bokhára, under pretence of supporting Abdulmelek; and, taking possession of all Transoxiana, put an end to the dynasty of Sámáni, after it had reigned for more than 120 years.

Mahmúd, now secure in the possession of his dominions, had it almost in his own choice in which direction he should extend them. The kingdoms on the west, so attractive from their

* Though not before adopted by the Mussulmans, it is an old Arabic word for a king.

connection with the Mahometan religion and their ancient renown, were in such a state of weakness and disorder that a large portion ultimately fell into his hands without an effort; and the ease with which the rest was subdued by the Seljúks, who were once his subjects, showed how little obstruction there was to his advancing his frontier to the Hellespont.

But the undiscovered regions of India presented a wider field for romantic enterprise. The great extent of that favoured country, the rumours of its accumulated treasures, the fertility of the soil, and the peculiarity of its productions, raised it into a land of fable, in which the surrounding nations might indulge their imaginations without control. The adventures to be expected in such a country derived fresh lustre from their being the means of extending the Mahometan faith, the establishment of which among a new people was in those times the most glorious exploit that a king or conqueror could achieve.

These views made the livelier impression on Mahmúd, from his first experience in arms having been gained in a war with Hindús; and were seconded by his natural disposition, even at that time liable to be dazzled by the prospect of a rich field for plunder.

Influenced by such motives, he made peace with E'lik Khán, leaving him in possession of Transoxiana; cemented the alliance by a marriage with the daughter of that prince; and, having

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quelled an insurrection of a representative of Sofarides, who had been tolerated in a sort of independence in Sístán, and whom, on a subsequent rebellion *, he seized and imprisoned, he proceeded on his first invasion of India.

His first expedition to India. A.D. 1001, A.H. 391.

Three centuries and a half had elapsed since the conquest of Persia by the Mussulmans when he set out on this expedition. He left Ghazni with 10,000 chosen horse, and was met by his father's old antagonist, Jeipál of Láhor, in the neighbourhood of Péshàwer. He totally defeated him, took him prisoner, and pursued his march to Batinda, beyond the Satlaj. He stormed and plundered that place†; and then returned with the rich spoils of the camp and country to Ghazni. He released the Hindú prisoners for a ransom, on the rája's renewing his promises of tribute; but put some Afgháns who had joined them to death. Jeipál, on returning from his captivity, worn out by repeated disasters, and perhaps constrained by some superstition of his subjects, made over his crown to his son Anangpál; and mounting a pyre which he had ordered to be

* A.D. 1002.

† Batinda seems formerly to have been a place of more consequence than its situation, in a sort of desert, would promise. It is said by Colonel Tod to have been the residence of the rája of Láhór alternately with the capital from which he took his title. As the battle at Péshâwer was on the 27th of November, Mahmúd would reach Batinda towards the end of the cold season, when the rivers of the Panjáb, though not all fordable, would offer little obstruction to cavalry.

constructed, set it on fire with his own hands, and perished in the flames. CHAP. III.

Second expedition.

Anang Pál was true to his father's engagements; but the rája of Bhatía, a dependency of Láhór, on the southern side of Multán, refused to pay his share of the tribute, and resolutely opposed the Sultan, who went against him in person. He was driven, first from a well-defended intrenchment, then from his principal fortress, and at last destroyed himself in the thickets of the Indus, where he had fled for concealment, and where many of his followers fell in endeavouring to revenge his death. A.D. 1004, A.H. 395.

Third expedition.

Mahmúd's next expedition was to reduce his dependent, the Afghán chief of Multán*, who, though a Mussulman, had renounced his allegiance, and had formed a close alliance with Anang Pál.

The tribes of the mountains being, probably, not sufficiently subdued to allow of a direct march from Ghazní to Multán, the rája was able to interpose between Mahmúd and his ally. The armies met somewhere near Péshâwer, when the rája was routed, pursued to Sódra (near Vizírábád), on the Acesines, and compelled to take refuge in Cashmír. Mahmúd then laid siege to Multán: at the end of seven days he accepted the submission of

* His name was Abul Fatteh Lódi, and he was grandson of Hamíd Khán Lódi, who had joined the enemies of his faith for a cession of the provinces of Multán and Laghmán, and who submitted to Sebektegín after his victory over the Hindús.

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the chief, together with a contribution; and returned to Ghazni.

A.D. 1005, A.H. 369. Invasion of the Tartars under E'lik Khán.

He was led to grant these favourable terms in consequence of intelligence that had reached him of a formidable invasion of his dominions by the armies of E'lik Khán. Though so closely connected with him, the Tartar prince had been tempted, by observing his exclusive attention to India, to hope for an easy conquest of Khorásán, and had sent one army to Herát and another to Balkh, to take possession.

But he had formed a wrong estimate of the vigour of his opponent, who committed the charge of his territories on the Indus to Séwuk (or Súk) Pal, a converted Hindú, and turning, by rapid marches, towards Khorásán, soon forced E'lik Khan's generals to retire to their own side of the Oxus.

E'lik Khán was now threatened in his turn, and applied for assistance to Kadr Khán of Khóten, who marched to join him with 50,000 men. Thus strengthened, E'lik Khán did not hesitate to cross the Oxus, and was met by Mahmúd, near Balkh. On this occasion he brought 500 elephants into the field, and contrived, by his judicious arrangements, that they should not be liable to derange his own line, while they should produce their full effect on the men and horses of the enemy, unaccustomed to their huge bulk and strange appearance. Accordingly the mere sight of them checked the impetuosity of the Tartar charge; on which the

elephants advanced, and at once pushed into the midst of the enemy, dispersing, overthrowing, and trampling under foot whatever was opposed to them; it is said that Mahmúd's own elephant caught up the standard bearer of E'lik Khán, and tossed him aloft with his trunk, in sight of the Tartar king and his terrified fellow soldiers. Before this disorder could be recovered, the armies closed; and so rapid and courageous was the onset of the Ghaznevites, that the Tartars gave way on all sides, and were driven, with a prodigious slaughter, from the field of battle.* A.D. 1006, A.H. 397. Defeated by Mahmúd.



E'lik Khán escaped across the Oxus with a few attendants, and never again attempted to make head against Mahmúd.

The Sultan was at first disposed to pursue the enemy; but the advance of winter compelled him to abandon this design; and he did not regain his capital without the loss of some hundreds of men and horses by the inclemency of the season.

Meanwhile Súk Pál had revolted and relapsed into idolatry. Mahmúd came unexpectedly upon him, and, making him prisoner, confined him in a fort for life.

Mahmúd had been prevented, by the invasion of E'lik Khán, from resenting the opposition which he had met with from Anang Pál. As he was now at leisure to attend to Indian affairs, he assembled a large army, and set out, in the spring of A. D. 1008, to resume his operations against the rája. Fourth expedition. A.D. 1008, A.H. 399.

* Ferishta. De Guignes. D'Herbelot.

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But Anang Pál had not been insensible to the risk to which he was exposed. He had sent ambassadors to the Hindú princes far and near, pointing out to them the danger with which all were threatened by the progress of the Mahometans, and the necessity of an immediate combination to prevent the total destruction of their religion and independence. His arguments, which were probably in accordance with their own previous feelings, made an impression on those to whom they were addressed: the rájas of Ujén, Guáliór, Cálinjer, Canouj, Delhi, and Ajmír entered into a confederacy; and, uniting their forces, advanced into the Panjáb, with the largest army that had ever yet taken the field. Mahmúd was alarmed at this unexpected display of force; and, instead of meeting the danger with his usual alacrity, he halted in the presence of the enemy, and took up a position near Péshâwer, in which he remained on the defensive. During his inaction, the hostile army daily increased: the Hindú women sold their jewels, melted down their golden ornaments, and sent their contributions from a distance, to furnish resources for this holy war: and the Gakkars and other warlike tribes joining their army, they surrounded the Mahometans, who were obliged to intrench their camp. But Mahmúd, though somewhat disconcerted, was far from having lost his courage; and, wishing to profit by the strength of his position, he sent out a strong body of archers to provoke an attack on his intrenchments. The

Decisive battle.

result was different from his expectations: the archers were at once repulsed by the Gakkars, who, in spite of the king's presence, and his efforts, followed them up so closely, that a numerous body of those mountaineers, bare-headed and bare-footed, variously and strangely armed, passed the intrenchments on both flanks, and, falling in with astonishing fury among the cavalry, proceeded, with their swords and knives, to cut down and maim both horse and rider, until, almost in the twinkling of an eye, between 3000 and 4000 Mussulmans had fallen victims to their savage impetuosity. *

The attacks, however, gradually abated; and Mahmúd at length discovered that the elephant of his antagonist, who had advanced to profit by the confusion, had taken fright at the flights of arrows †, and had turned and fled from the field. This incident struck a terror into the enemy: the Hindús, thinking themselves deserted by their general, first slackened their efforts, and at last gave way and dispersed. Mahmúd took immediate advantage of their confusion, and, sending out 10,000 chosen men in pursuit of them, destroyed double

* Price, vol. ii. p. 234.

† In the original this is "cannon and musquetry;" and although Colonel Briggs finds a most ingenious solution, which, by a slight change of the diacritical points in the Persian, turns these words into "naphtha balls and arrows;" yet he is staggered by the agreement of all the MSS., and suspects an anachronism in the author. I have adopted the simplest explanation.

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that number of his enemies before they reached a place of safety.

Temple of Nagarcót.

After this providential deliverance, Mahmúd allowed the Indians no time to re-assemble: he followed them into the Panjáb, and soon found them so effectually dispersed, that he had time to execute one of those schemes of plunder in which he seems to have taken so much delight. It was directed against Nagarcót, a fortified temple on a mountain connected with the lower range of Hémaláya. This edifice, as it derived peculiar sanctity from a natural flame which issued from the ground within its precincts, was enriched by the offerings of a long succession of Hindú princes, and was likewise the depository of most of the wealth of the neighbourhood; so that, according to Ferishta, it contained a greater quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, than any ever collected in the royal treasury of any prince on earth.

Such a place might have opposed a successful resistance to any assailant; but the garrison had been drawn off in the late great effort, and Mahmúd, on approaching the walls, found them lined by a crowd of defenceless priests, who called loudly for quarter, and offered unqualified submission. Their terms were gladly acceded to, and the conqueror, entering with the principal officers of his court and household, took possession of their accumulated treasures. 700,000 golden dínárs, 700 mans of gold and silver plate, 200 mans of pure gold in ingots, 2000 mans of unwrought sil-

ver, and twenty mans of various jewels, including pearls, corals, diamonds, and rubies, collected since Rájá Bhíma, in the Hindú heroic ages, are said to have fallen at once into his hands.*

With this vast booty Mahmúd returned to Ghazni, and next year celebrated a triumphal feast, at which he displayed to the people the spoils of India, set forth in all their magnificence on golden thrones and tables of the precious metals. The festival was held on a spacious plain, and lasted three days; sumptuous banquets were provided for the spectators, alms were liberally distributed among the poor, and splendid presents were bestowed on persons distinguished for their rank, merits, or sanctity.

A.D. 1010. Conquest of Ghór.

In A. H. 401, he went in person against the strong country of Ghór, in the mountains east of Herát. It was inhabited by the Afgháns, of the tribe of Súr, had been early converted, and was completely reduced under the califs in A. H. 111. The chief had occupied an unassailable position, but was drawn out by a pretended flight, (an operation which, though it seems so dangerous, yet, in the hands of historians, appears never to fail,) and being entirely defeated, swallowed poison. His name was Mohammed Súr, and the conquest of his country is the more remarkable, as it was

* There are many sorts of man: the smallest, that of Arabia, is 2 lbs.; the commonest, that of Tabríz, is 11 lbs. The Indian man is 80 lbs. (Briggs, note on Ferishta, vol. i. p. 48.)

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by his descendants that the house of Ghazni was overthrown.

In the course of the next year but one, the mountainous country of Jurjistán, or Ghirghistán, which lies on the upper course of the river Murgháb, adjoining to Ghór, was reduced by Mahmúd's generals.*

Fifth expedition to India.

It must have been some act of aggression that drew Mahmúd to Ghór, for, in the same year (A. D. 1010, A. H. 401), he again turned to India — which seems to have been the business of his life — took Multán, and brought Abul Fatteh Lódi prisoner to Ghazni.

Sixth expedition. Capture of Tanésar.

In the next year he made an expedition of unusual length to Tanésar, not far from the Jamna, where he plundered the temple (a very holy one), sacked the town, and returned with an incredible number of captives to Ghazni, before the Indian princes could assemble to oppose him.

Seventh and eighth expeditions.

Nothing remarkable occurred in the next three years, except two predatory expeditions to Cashmír; in returning from the last of which the army was misled, and, the season being far advanced, many lives were lost: the only wonder is, that

* The name of this tract continually occurs in connection with Ghór and the neighbouring countries. Its position appears from Ebn Haukal (*Ouseley's Ebn Haukal*, pp. 213. 221. 225.); it is very often mistaken by European writers for Georgia; and D'Herbelot, under this impression, derives the title of the prince (which, from the defective writing of the Persians, is made by different authors Sár, Shár, Tshár, and Nishár) from the Russian czar, or from Cæsar.

two invasions of so inaccessible a country should have been attended with so few disasters. CHAP. III.

Conquest of Transoxiana.

These insignificant transactions were succeeded by an expedition which, as it extended Mahmúd's dominions to the Caspian sea, may be reckoned among the most important of his reign. E'lik Khán was now dead, and his successor, Toghán Khán, was engaged in a desperate struggle with the Khitan Tartars* which chiefly raged to the east of Imaus. The opening thus left in Transoxiana did not escape Mahmúd, nor was he so absorbed in his Indian wars as to neglect so great an acquisition.

Samarcand and Bokhárá seem to have been occupied without opposition; and the resistance which was offered in Khárizm did not long delay the conquest of that country.† A.D. 1016, A.H. 407.

Ninth expedition to India.

The great scale of these operations seems to have enlarged Mahmúd's views, even in his designs on India; for, quitting the Panjáb, which had hitherto

* From A.D. 1012 to 1025. (De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 31.)

† No previous expedition in the direction of the Oxus is mentioned by any historian after the battle with E'lik Khán in A.D. 1006; and Ferishta ascribes this invasion to the resentment of Mahmúd at the murder of the king of Khárizm, who was married to his daughter; but D'Herbelot (art. Mahmoud) and De Guignes (who quotes Abulfedha, vol. ii. p. 166.) assert as positively that it was to put down a rebellion; and as Ferishta himself alludes to an application to the calif for an order for the surrender of Samarcand in A.D. 1012, it is not improbable that Mahmúd may have employed that year in the conquest of Transoxiana, especially as there is no mention of his being then personally engaged in any other expedition.

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been his ordinary field of action, he resolved on his next campaign to move direct to the Ganges, and open a way for himself or his successors into the heart of Hindostan. His preparations were commensurate to his design. He assembled an army which Ferishta reckons at 100,000 horse, and 20,000 foot, and which was drawn from all parts of his dominions, more especially from those recently conquered; a prudent policy, whereby he at once removed the soldiery which might have been dangerous if left behind, and attached it to his service by a share of the plunder of India.

A.D. 1017, A.H. 408.

He had to undertake a march of three months, across seven great rivers, and into a country hitherto unexplored; and he seems to have concerted his expedition with his usual judgment and information. He set out from Péshâwer, and, passing near Cashmír, kept close to the mountains, where the rivers are most easily crossed, until he had passed the Jamna, when he turned towards the south, and unexpectedly presented himself before the great capital of Canouj.

Canouj.

It is difficult to conjecture the local or other circumstances which tended so greatly to enrich and embellish this city. The dominions of the rája were not more extensive than those of his neighbours, nor does he exhibit any superiority of power in their recorded wars or alliances; yet Hindú and Mahometan writers vie with each other in extolling the splendour of his court, and the magnificence of his capital; and the impression

made by its stately appearance on the army of Mahmúd is particularly noticed by Ferishta.*

The rája was taken entirely unprepared, and was so conscious of his helpless situation, that he came out with his family, and gave himself up to Mahmúd. The friendship thus inauspiciously commenced appears to have been sincere and permanent: the Sultan left Canouj uninjured at the end of three days, and returned, some years after, in the hope of assisting the rája, against a confederacy which had been formed to punish his alliance with the common enemy of his nation.

No such clemency was shown to Mattra, one of the most celebrated seats of the Hindú religion. During a halt of twenty days, the city was given up to plunder, the idols were broken, and the temples profaned. The excesses of the troops led to a fire in the city, and the effects of this conflagration were added to its other calamities.

It is said, by some, that Mahmúd was unable to destroy the temples on account of their solidity. Less zealous Mahometans relate that he spared them on account of their beauty. All agree that he was struck with the highest admiration of the

* A Hindú writer, among other extravagant praises (Colonel Tod, vol. ii. p. 7.), says the walls were thirty miles round; a Mussulman (Major Rennell, p. 54.) asserts that it contained 30,000 shops for the sale of bítel leaf. Some Mahometan writers pay the rája the usual compliment of supposing him emperor of all India; and Ebn Haukal, a century before Mahmúd, mentions Canouj as the chief city of India. (*Ouseley's Ebn Haukal*, p. 9.)

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buildings which he saw at Mattra, and it is not improbable that the impression they made on him gave the first impulse to his own undertakings of the same nature.*

This expedition was attended with some circumstances more than usually tragical. At Maháwan, near Mattra, the rája had submitted, and had been favourably received; when a quarrel accidentally breaking out between the soldiers of the two parties, the Hindús were massacred and driven into the river, and the rája, conceiving himself betrayed, destroyed his wife and children, and then made away with himself.

At Munj, after a desperate resistance, part of the Rájpút garrison rushed out through the breaches on the enemy, while the rest dashed themselves to pieces from the works, or burned themselves with their wives and children in their houses; so that not one of the whole body survived. Various other towns were reduced, and much country laid waste; and the king returned to Ghazni, loaded with spoil and accompanied by 5300 prisoners.† Having

* The following extract has been preserved of a letter from Mahmúd to the Governor of Ghazni: — "Here there are a thousand edifices as firm as the faith of the faithful, most of them of marble, besides innumerable temples; nor is it likely that this city has attained its present condition but at the expense of many millions of deenars; nor could such another be constructed under a period of two centuries." (*Briggs's Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 58.)

† The whole of this expedition is indistinctly related by Ferishta. He copies the Persian writers, who, adverting to the

now learned the way into the interior, Mahmúd made two subsequent marches into India at long intervals from the present: the first was to the relief of the rája of Canouj, who had been cut off before the Sultan arrived, by the rája of Cálinjer in Bundélcand, against whom Mahmúd next turned his arms, but made no permanent impression, either in this or a subsequent campaign.

CHAP. III.

Tenth and eleventh expeditions.

A.D. 1022, A.H. 413.

A.D. 1023, A.H. 414.

On the first of these expeditions an event occurred which had more permanent effects than all the Sultan's great victories. Jeipál II., who had succeeded Anangpál in the government of Láhór, seems, after some misunderstandings at the time of his accession, to have lived on good terms with Mahmúd. On this occasion, his ill destiny led him to oppose that prince's march to Canouj. The results were, the annexation of Láhór and its territory to Ghazni: the first instance of a permanent garrison on the east of the Indus, and

Permanent occupation of the Panjáb.

seasons in their own country, make Mahmúd begin his march in spring. Had he done so, he need not have gone so high in search of fords; but he would have reached Canouj at the beginning of the periodical rains, and carried on all his subsequent movements in the midst of rivers during that season. It is probable he would go to Péshâwer before the snow set in above the passes, and would cross the Indus early in November. His marches are still worse detailed. He goes first to Canouj, then back to Mírat, and then back again to Mattra. There is no clue to his route, advancing or retiring: he probably came down by Mírat, but it is quite uncertain how he returned. For a good discussion of his marches, see *Bird's History of Gujarát*, Introduction, p. 31.

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the foundation of the future Mahometan empire in India.

A.D. 1024, A.H. 415.

After this, Mahmúd's attention was drawn to Transoxiana: he marched thither in person, crushed a revolt, and subsequently returned to Ghazni.

Since his great expedition to Canouj, Mahmúd seems to have lost all taste for predatory incursions, and the invasions last mentioned were scarcely the result of choice. He seems, at this time, to have once more called up his energy, and determined on a final effort which should transmit his name to posterity among the greatest scourges of idolatry, if not the greatest promoters of Islám.

Twelfth expedition. Sómnát.

This was his expedition to Sómnát, which is celebrated, wherever there is a Mussulman, as the model of a religious invasion.

Sómnát was a temple of great sanctity, situated near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Guzerát.* Though now chiefly known in India from the history of Mahmúd's exploit, it seems, at the time we are writing of, to have been the richest and most frequented, as well as most famous, place of worship in the country.†

* Called by the natives Sóreth and Káttíwár.

† It is said that from 200,000 to 300,000 votaries used to attend this temple during eclipses; that 2000 villages had been granted by different princes to maintain its establishments; that there were 2000 priests, 500 dancing women, and 300 musicians attached to the temple; that the chain supporting a bell which worshippers strike during prayer weighed 200 mans of gold; and that the idol was washed daily with water brought from the Ganges, a distance of 1000 miles. The last statement is not

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To reach this place, Mahmúd, besides a long march through inhabited countries, had to cross a desert, 350 miles broad, of loose sand or hard clay, almost entirely without water, and with very little forage for horses.

To cross this with an army, even into a friendly country, would be an exceedingly difficult undertaking at the present day: to cross it for the first time, with the chance of meeting a hostile army on the edge, required an extraordinary share of skill, no less than enterprise.

The army moved from Ghazni in September, A.D. 1024, and reached Multán in October. The Sultan had collected 20,000 camels for carrying supplies, besides enjoining his troops to provide themselves, as far as they could, with forage, water, and provisions. The number of his army is not given. It is said to have been accompanied by a crowd of volunteers, chiefly from beyond the Oxus, attracted by love of adventure and hopes of plunder, at least as much as by religious zeal.*

A.D. 1024, A.H. 415.

As soon as he had completed his arrangement for the march, he crossed the desert without any disaster, and made good his footing on the cultivated part of India near Ajmír. The Hindús, if they were aware of the storm that was gathering,

improbable from present practices. The numbers, as in all cases in Asiatic writers, must be considered as indefinite. The value of the chain, if in Tubrízi mans (as was probably intended) would be above 100,000*l.*, and if in Arab mans, under 2000*l.*

* Ferishta reckons them at 30,000. (Briggs, vol. i. p. 68.)

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were not prepared for its bursting on a point that seemed so well protected, and the rája of Ajmír had no resource but in flight. His country was ravaged, and his town, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, was given up to plunder; but the hill fort, which commands it, held out; and, as it was not Mahmúd's object to engage in sieges, he proceeded on his journey, which was now an easy one; his route probably lying along the plain between the Aravalli mountains and the desert. Almost the first place he came to in Guzerát was the capital, Anhalwára, where his appearance was so sudden that the rája, though one of the greatest princes in India, was constrained to abandon it with precipitation.

Without being diverted by this valuable conquest, Mahmúd pursued his march to Sómnát, and at length reached that great object of his exertions. He found the temple situated on a peninsula connected with the main land by a fortified isthmus, the battlements of which were manned in every point, and from whence issued a herald, who brought him defiance and threats of destruction in the name of the god. Little moved by these menaces, Mahmúd brought forward his archers, and soon cleared the walls of their defenders, who now crowded to the temple, and, prostrating themselves before the idol, called on him with tears for help. But Rájpúts are as easily excited as dispirited; and, hearing the shouts of "Alláho Akbar!" from the Mussulmans, who had already begun

to mount the walls, they hurried back to their defence, and made so gallant a resistance that the Mussulmans were unable to retain their footing, and were driven from the place with loss.

The next day brought a still more signal repulse. A general assault was ordered; but, as fast as the Mussulmans scaled the walls, they were hurled down headlong by the besieged, who seemed resolved to defend the place to the last.

On the third day the princes of the neighbourhood, who had assembled to rescue the temple, presented themselves in order of battle, and compelled Mahmúd to relinquish the attack, and move in person against his new enemy.

The battle raged with great fury, and victory was already doubtful, when the rája of Anhalwára arrived with a strong reinforcement to the Hindús. This unexpected addition to their enemies so dispirited the Mussulmans that they began to waver, when Mahmúd, who had prostrated himself to implore the Divine assistance, leaped upon his horse, and cheered his troops with such energy, that, ashamed to abandon a king under whom they had so often fought and bled, they, with one accord, gave a loud shout, and rushed forwards with an impetuosity which could no longer be withstood. Five thousand Hindús lay dead after the charge; and so complete was the rout of their army, that the garrison gave up all hopes of further defence, and, breaking out to the number of 4000 men, made their way to their boats; and, though not

without considerable loss, succeeded in escaping by sea.

Mahmúd entered the temple, and was struck with the grandeur of the edifice, the lofty roof of which was supported by fifty-six pillars curiously carved and richly ornamented with precious stones. The external light was excluded, but the temple was illuminated by a lamp which hung down in the centre from a golden chain. Facing the entrance was Sómnát, — an idol five yards high, of which two were buried in the ground. Mahmúd instantly ordered the image to be destroyed; when the Bramins of the temple threw themselves before him, and offered an enormous ransom if he would spare their deity. Mahmúd hesitated; and his courtiers hastened to offer the advice which they knew would be acceptable; but Mahmúd, after a moment's pause, exclaimed that he would rather be remembered as the breaker than the seller of idols, and struck the image with his mace. His example was instantaneously followed, and the image, which was hollow, burst with the blows, and poured forth a quantity of diamonds and other jewels which had been concealed in it, that amply repaid Mahmúd for the sacrifice of the ransom. Two pieces of this idol were sent to Mecca and Medína, and two to Ghazni, where one was to be seen at the palace and one at the public mosque, as late as when Ferishta wrote his history.*

* The above is Ferishta's account, and might be true of some idol in the temple; but the real object of worship at Sómnát

The treasure taken on this occasion exceeded all former captures; but even the Asiatic historians are tired of enumerating the mans of gold and jewels.

Meanwhile the rája of Anhalwára had taken refuge in Gundába, a fort which was considered to be protected by the sea. Mahmúd ascertained it to be accessible, though not without danger, when the tide was low; entered the water at the head of his troops, and carried the place by assault, but failed to capture the rája.

Mahmúd sets up a rája in Guzerát.

Mahmúd, thus victorious, returned to Anhalwára, where it is probable that he passed the rainy season; and so much was he pleased with the mildness of the climate and the beauty and fertility of the country, that he entertained thoughts of transferring his capital thither (for some years at least), and of making it a new point of departure for further conquests. He appears, indeed, at this time, to have been elated with his success, and to have meditated the formation of a fleet, and the accomplishment of a variety of magnificent projects. His visions, however, were in a different spirit from those of Alexander; and were not directed to the glory of exploring the ocean, but the acquisition of the jewels of Ceylon and the gold mines of Pegu. Mature reflection concurred with the advice of his ministers in inducing him to give up those schemes;

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was not an image, but a simple cylinder of stone. (Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 194, &c.)

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and as the rája still kept at a distance, and refused submission, he looked around for a fit person whom he might invest with the government, and on whom he could rely for the payment of a tribute. He fixed his eyes on a man of the ancient royal family who had retired from the world, and embraced the life of an anchoret, and whom he probably thought more likely than any other to remain in submission and dependence.*

There was another pretender of the same family, whom Mahmúd thought it necessary to secure in his camp, and whom, when he was about to leave Guzerát, the new rája earnestly entreated to have delivered to him as the only means of giving stability to his throne. Mahmúd, who, it seems, had admitted the prisoner into his presence, was very unwilling to give him up to his enemy, and he was with difficulty persuaded to do so by the argument of his minister, that it was "not necessary to have compassion on a pagan idolater." His repugnance was no doubt increased by the belief that he was consigning the prisoner to certain death; but the

* The person selected is said to have been a descendant of Dabishlím, an ancient Hindú rája, so called by the Persians, to whom his name is familiar as the prince by whose orders the fables of Pilpai were composed. Ferishta calls both the pretenders in the following story by the name of their supposed ancestor; but they probably were representatives of the family of Cháwara, to whom the father of the reigning rája of the family of Chálúka had succeeded through the female line. (*Bird's Mírâti Ahmedi*, p. 142., and *Tod's Rajasthan*, vol. i. p. 97.)

ascetic was too pious to shed human blood, and mildly ordered a dark pit to be dug under his own throne, in which his enemy was to linger out the days that nature had assigned to him. A fortunate revolution, however, reversed the destiny of the parties, and consigned the anchoret to the dungeon which he had himself prepared.*

Distresses in the desert on his return.

Mahmúd, having by this time passed upwards of a year in Guzerát, began to think of returning to his own dominions. He found that the route by which he had advanced was occupied by a great army under the rája of Ajmír and the fugitive rája of Anhalwára. His own force was reduced by the casualties of war and climate; and he felt that even a victory, unless complete, would be total ruin to an army whose further march lay through a desert. He therefore determined to try a new road by the sands to the east of Sind. The hot season must have been advanced when he set out, and the sufferings of his followers, owing to want of water and forage, were severe from the first; but all their other miseries were thrown into the shade by those of three days, during which they were misled by their guides, and wandered, without relief, through the worst part of the desert: their

* This story is chiefly taken from D'Herbelot and Bird's translation of the "Míráti Ahmedi," whose narratives are more consistent than that in Ferishta. When stripped of some wonderful circumstances with which the historians have embellished it, it is by no means improbable in itself, and is too true a picture of the hypocritical humanity of a Hindú priest in power to have been invented by a Mahometan author.

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thirst became intolerable from the toil of their march on a burning sand and under a scorching sun, and the extremity of their distress drove them to acts of fury that heightened the calamity. The guides were tortured, and were believed to have confessed that they were priests in disguise, who had devoted themselves to avenge the disgrace of Sómnát: despair seized on every breast: many perished miserably; some died raving mad; and it was thought to be no less than a miraculous interposition of Providence which guided them at last to a lake or pool of water.

At length they arrived at Multán, and from thence proceeded to Ghazni. *

* It seems surprising, when we read of all these sufferings, that Mahmúd should neither in going or returning have availed himself of the easy and safe passage along the banks of the Indus, with which he could not fail to be well acquainted, both by the accounts of Mohammed Cásim's expedition, and by the neighbourhood of the Afgháns. So unaccountable is the neglect of this route, that we are led to think that some physical obstacles may then have existed which have now ceased to operate. It seems certain that the Rin, which is now a hard desert in the dry season, and a salt marsh in the rains, was formerly a part of the sea. The traditions of sea ports on the north of Cach, and the discovery of ships in the Rin, appear to put this question beyond a doubt; while the rapidity of the changes which have taken place under our own eyes prepare us to believe that still greater may have occurred in the 800 years that have elapsed since the taking of Sómnát. (See *Burnes's Travels*, vol. iii. p. 309.) I suppose Mahmúd's expedition to Sómnát to have occupied more than a year and a half, *i. e.* from October or November, 1024, to April or May, 1026. Ferishta says it occupied two years and a half, and Price, in one place, two years and a half, and in another, more than three. (Vol. ii.

Mahmúd allowed himself no repose after all that he had endured. He returned to Multán before the end of the year, to chastise a body of Jats in the Jund mountains, who had molested his army on its march from Sómnát. These marauders took refuge in the islands inclosed by the smaller channels of the Indus, which are often not fordable, and where they might elude pursuit by shifting from island to island. Mahmúd, who was on his guard against this expedient, had provided himself with boats, and was thus able, not only to transport his own troops across the channels, but to cut off the communications of the enemy, to seize such boats as they had in their possession, and, in the end, to destroy most of the men, and make prisoners of the women and children. *

p. 291.) But these periods are inconsistent with the dates in Ferishta, which are as follows:— March from Multan, October, A.D. 1024, A.H. 415; return to Ghazni, A.D. 1026, A.H. 417. The return must have taken place before the middle of the year, as Mahmúd's sufferings in the desert would not have happened in the rainy season, and, moreover, as no time would be left for the expedition against the Jats, which took place in the same year. The two years and a half, therefore, could only be made up by supposing Ferishta to have made a slip in ascribing Mahmúd's return to A.D. 1026, instead of A.D. 1027; but A.D. 1027 appears by his own account to have been employed in an expedition against the Seljúks. (Briggs, vol. i. p. 83.) Supposing Mahmúd to have remained for two years in Guzerát, it would be difficult to explain how he kept up his communications with Ghazni; as well as to account for his inaction during so long a period, in which not a march nor a transaction of any kind is recorded.

* I have endeavoured to reconcile this account, which is

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First revolt of the Seljúks.

This was the last of Mahmúd's expeditions to India. His activity was soon called forth in another direction; for the Túrki tribe of Seljúk, whose growth he had incautiously favoured, had become too unruly and too powerful to be restrained by his local governors; and he was obliged to move in person against them. He defeated them in a great battle, and compelled them, for a time, to return to their respect for his authority.*

Suppressed A.D. 1027, A.H. 418.

Conquest of Persia by Mahmúd.

This success was now followed by another of greater consequence, which raised Mahmúd's power to its highest pitch of elevation. The origin of the family of Búya, or the Deilemites, has already been mentioned.† They subsequently divided into three branches; and, after various changes, one branch remained in possession of Persian Irák, extending from the frontier of Khorásán, westward to the mountains of Kurdistán, beyond Hamadán. The chief of this branch had died about the time of Mahmúd's accession, leaving his dominions under

entirely on Ferishta's authority, with the size of the river and the geography of the neighbourhood. His own description gives an idea of a regular naval armament and a sea fight; Mahmúd, he says, had 1400 boats built for the occasion, each capable of containing twenty-five archers and fire-ball men, and armed with spikes in a peculiar manner. The enemy had a fleet of 4000, and some say 8000 boats, and a desperate conflict took place; yet Mahmúd's boats must have been constructed after his return during the present year, and the *mountaineers* could scarcely have possessed a large flotilla. I question if 1000 boats could now be collected on the whole of the Indus and the rivers connected with it.

* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. i. pp. 82, 83. † See p. 523.

the regency of his widow; and the Sultan was at first disposed to take advantage of the circumstance. He was disarmed by a letter from the regent, who told him that she might have feared him while her warlike husband was alive, but now felt secure in the conviction that he was too generous to attack a defenceless woman, and too wise to risk his glory in a contest where no addition to it could be gained. *

If Mahmúd ever evinced this magnanimity towards the widow, it was not extended to her son. This young man's reign was a continued scene of misgovernment; and the rebellions it at last engendered either obliged him (as some state) to solicit the interposition of Mahmúd, or enabled that monarch to interfere unsolicited, and to turn the distracted state of the kingdom to his own profit. He invaded Irák, and ungenerously, if not perfidiously, seized the person of the prince, who had trusted himself in his camp before Rei. He then took possession of the whole territory; and, having been opposed at Isfahán and Cazvín, he punished their resistance by putting to death some thousands of the inhabitants of each city.†

His death.

These transactions, which leave so great a stain on the memory of Mahmúd, were the last acts of his reign. He was taken ill soon after his return

* D'Herbelot. Price. Gibbon.

† D'Herbelot, art. "Mahmoud," p. 521. See also art. "Magdeddulat."

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A.D. 1030. A.H. 421.

to his capital, and died at Ghazni on the 29th of April, A.D. 1030.*

Shortly before his death he commanded all the most costly of his treasures to be displayed before him; and, after long contemplating them, he is said to have shed tears at the thought that he was so soon to lose them. It is remarked that, after this fond parting with his treasures, he distributed no portion of them among those around him, to whom also he was about to bid farewell.†

and character.

Thus died Mahmúd, certainly the greatest sovereign of his own time, and considered by the Mahometans among the greatest of any age. Though some of his qualities have been overrated, he appears on the whole to have deserved his reputation. Prudence, activity, and enterprise, he possessed in the highest degree; and the good order which he preserved in his extensive dominions during his frequent absences is a proof of his talents for government. The extent itself of those dominions does little towards establishing his ability, for the state of the surrounding countries afforded a field for a wider ambition than he ventured to indulge; and the speedy dissolution of his empire prevents

* Briggs, vol. i. p. 84.; Price, vol. ii. p. 294.

† It was probably this anecdote that suggested to Sádi a story which he relates in the "Gulistán." A certain person, he says, saw Sultán Mahmúd (then long dead) in a dream. His body was reduced to a bare skeleton; but his eyes (the organs of covetousness with the Asiatics) were still entire, and gazed eagerly from their sockets, as if they were insatiable and indestructible, like the passion which animated them.

our forming a high opinion of the wisdom employed in constructing it. Even his Indian operations, for which all other objects were resigned, are so far from displaying any signs of system or combination, that their desultory and inconclusive nature would lead us to deny him a comprehensive intellect, unless we suppose its range to have been contracted by the sordid passions of his heart.

He seems to have made no innovation in internal government: no laws or institutions are referred, by tradition, to him.

The real source of his glory lay in his combining the qualities of a warrior and a conqueror, with a zeal for the encouragement of literature and the arts, which was rare in his time, and has not yet been surpassed. His liberality in those respects is enhanced by his habitual economy. He founded a university in Ghazni, with a vast collection of curious books in various languages, and a museum of natural curiosities. He appropriated a large sum of money for the maintenance of this establishment, besides a permanent fund for allowances to professors and to students.* He also set aside a sum, nearly equal to 10,000*l.* a-year, for pensions to learned men; and showed so much munificence to individuals of eminence, that his capital exhibited a greater assemblage of literary genius than any other monarch in Asia has ever been able to produce.†

* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. i. p. 60.

† The first encouragers of Persian literature appear to have

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Of the many names that adorned his court, few are known in Europe. U'nsuri may be mentioned as the first instance, in Asia, of a man raised to high rank and title for poetical merit alone * ; but it is to Ferdousi that we must ascribe the universal reputation of Mahmúd as a patron of poetry ; and it is to him, also, that his country is indebted for a large portion of her poetical fame.

The history of this poet throws a strong light on Mahmúd's literary ardour ; and is improved in interest as well as authenticity by its incidental disclosure of the conqueror's characteristic foible. Perceiving that the ancient renown of Persia was on the point of being extinguished, owing to the bigotry of his predecessors, Mahmúd early held out rewards to any one who would embody in a historical poem, the achievements of her kings and heroes, previous to the Mahometan conquest. Dakíki, a great poet of the day, whom he had first engaged in this undertaking, was assassinated by

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been the Sámánis. The "Tárikhi Tabari," a celebrated historical work, was translated into Persian from Arabic by the vizír of one of the kings of that race, in A.D. 946; and Rúdekí, the earliest of the Persian poets, received 80,000 dirhems from another of those princes for a moral work founded on Pilpay's fables. The Búyas, or Deilemites, are mentioned by Gibbon as revivers of the language and genius of Persia; but it is to Sultan Mahmúd that she is indebted for the full expansion of her national literature.

* Colonel Kennedy, from Daulot Sháh, *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, vol. ii. p. 75.; where, also, is the authority for the present to Rúdekí.

a servant, before he had finished more than one thousand couplets; when the fame of Mahmúd's liberality fortunately attracted Ferdousi to his court. By him was this great work completed; and in such a manner, that, although so obsolete as to require a glossary, it is still the most popular of all books among his countrymen, and is admired even by European readers for the spirit and fire of some passages, the tenderness of others, and the Homeric simplicity and grandeur that pervade the whole. A remarkable feature in this poem (perhaps an indication of the taste of the age) is the fondness for ancient Persian words, and the studious rejection of Arabic. It is said, though not, perhaps, quite correctly, that not one exclusively Arabic word is to be found in the sixty thousand couplets. The poem was from time to time recited to the Sultan, who listened to it with delight, and showed his gratitude by gifts to the poet; but when the whole was concluded, after thirty years of labour, as Ferdousi himself assures us, the reward was entirely disproportioned to the greatness of the work.* Ferdousi rejected what was offered, withdrew in indignation to his native city of Tús,

* The story told is, that Mahmúd had promised a dirhem for every verse; and that, although he had meant golden dirhems, the sight of the sum was too much for his covetous nature, and he changed the payment into silver dirhems; but Mahmúd had too much prudence to have promised an unlimited sum for verses, even of Ferdousi's, and too much taste to have thought that he would improve their value by offering a premium on their number.

launched a bitter satire at Mahmúd, and held himself prepared to fly from that monarch's dominions, if it were necessary, to shun the effects of his revenge. But Mahmúd magnanimously forgot the satire, while he remembered the great epic, and sent so ample a remuneration to the poet as would have surpassed his highest expectations. But his bounty came too late; and the treasure entered one door of Ferdousi's house as his bier was borne out of another. His daughter at first rejected the untimely gift; by the persuasion of Mahmúd, she at length accepted it, and laid it out on an embankment, to afford a supply of water to the city where her father had been born, and to which he was always much attached.

The satire, however, has survived. It is to it we owe the knowledge of Mahmúd's base birth; and to it, beyond doubt, is to be ascribed the preservation of the memory of his avarice, which would otherwise long ago have been forgotten. *

Mahmúd's taste for architecture, whether engendered, or only developed, by what he witnessed at Mattra and Cánouj, displayed itself in full perfection after his return from that expedition. He then founded the mosque called "the Celestial Bride," which, in that age, was the wonder of the East. It was built of marble and granite, of such beauty as to strike every beholder with astonish-

* D'Herbelot; Kennedy on Persian Literature, *Bombay Transactions;* Malcolm's Persia; Introduction to Sháhnámeh, *Oriental Magazine*, vol. vi.

ment *, and was furnished with rich carpets, candelabras, and other ornaments of silver and gold. It is probable, from the superiority long possessed by Indian architects, that the novelty and elegance of the design had even a greater effect than the materials, in commanding so much admiration. When the nobility of Ghazni, says Ferishta (from whom most of the above is transcribed), saw the taste of the monarch evince itself in architecture, they vied with each other in the magnificence of their private palaces, as well as in public buildings, which they raised for the embellishment of the city. Thus, in a short time, the capital was ornamented with mosques, porches, fountains, reservoirs, aqueducts, and cisterns, beyond every city in the East.

All writers attest the magnificence of Mahmúd's court, which exhibited the solemnity of that of the califs, together with all the pomp and splendour which they had borrowed from the great king; so that when to all this we add the great scale of his expeditions, and the high equipments of his armies, we must accede to the assertion of his historian, that, if he was rapacious in acquiring wealth, he was unrivalled in the judgment and grandeur with which he knew how to expend it.

As avarice is the great imputation against Mahmúd in the East, so is bigotry among European writers. The first of these charges is established

* Ferishta.

by facts; the other seems the result of a misconception. Mahmúd carried on war with the infidels because it was a source of gain, and, in his day, the greatest source of glory. He professed, and probably felt, like other Mussulmans, an ardent wish for the propagation of his faith; but he never sacrificed the least of his interests for the accomplishment of that object; and he even seems to have been perfectly indifferent to it, when he might have attained it without loss. One province, permanently occupied, would have done more for conversion than all his inroads, which only hardened the hearts of the Hindús against a religion which presented itself in such a form.

Even where he had possession, he showed but little zeal. Far from forcing conversions, like Mohammed Cásim, we do not hear that in his long residence in Guzerát, or his occupation of Láhór, he ever made a convert at all. His only ally (the rája of Canouj) was an unconverted Hindú. His transactions with the rája of Láhór were guided entirely by policy, without reference to religion; and when he placed a Hindú devotee on the throne of Guzerát, his thoughts must have been otherwise directed than to the means of propagating Islám.

It is no where asserted that he ever put a Hindú to death except in battle, or in the storm of a fort. His only massacres were among his brother Mussulmans in Persia. Even they were owing to the spirit of the age, not of the individual, and sink into insignificance, if compared with those of

Chengíz Khân, who was not a Mussulman, and is eulogised by one of our most liberal historians as a model of philosophical toleration.

Perhaps the most odious trait of his religious wars is given incidentally by a Mahometan author, quoted in Price, who states that such was the multitude of captives brought from India, that a purchaser could not be found for a slave at four shillings and seven pence a head.

The Mahometan historians are so far from giving him credit for a blind attachment to the faith, that they charge him with scepticism, and say that he rejected all testimony, and professed his doubts of a future state: and the end of the story, as they relate it, increases its probability; for, as if he felt that he had gone too far, he afterwards announced that the Prophet had appeared to him in a dream, and in one short sentence had removed all his doubts and objections.

It is, however, certain that he was most attentive to the forms of his religion. He always evinced the strongest attachment to the orthodox calif, and rejected all offers from his Egyptian rival. Though he discouraged religious enthusiasts and ascetics, he showed great reverence for men of real sanctity.*

Hardly one battle of importance is described in which he did not kneel down in prayer, and implore the blessing of God upon his arms.†

* See a letter from Aurangzíb, in the *Asiatic Register* for 1801, p. 92.

† A story is told of him in Ferishta and in the "Rauzat u

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Notwithstanding the bloodshed and misery of which he was the occasion, he does not seem to have been cruel. We hear of none of the tragedies and atrocities in his court and family which are so common in those of other despots. No inhuman punishments are recorded; and rebels, even when they are persons who had been pardoned and trusted, never suffer any thing worse than imprisonment.

Mahmúd was about the middle size; athletic, and well proportioned in his limbs, but disfigured with the small-pox to a degree that was a constant source of mortification to him in his youth, until it stimulated him to exertion, from a desire that the bad impression made by his appearance might be effaced by the lustre of his actions.*

He seems to have been of a cheerful disposition, and to have lived on easy terms with those around him.

The following well-known story shows the opinion entertained of his severity to military licence, one of the first virtues in a general. One day a peasant threw himself at his feet, and complained that an officer of the army, having conceived a

Safa," that puts his zeal for religion in a new light. A citizen of Níshapúr was brought before him on an accusation of heresy. "O king," said he, "I am rich, but I am no heretic; can you not take my property without injuring my reputation?" The king heard his proposal with great good humour, took the bribe, and gave him a certificate under the royal signet of his perfect orthodoxy.

† Ferishta. D'Herbelot. Price.

passion for his wife, had forced himself into his house, and driven him out with blows and insults; and that he had renewed the outrage, regardless of the clamours of the husband. Mahmúd directed him to say nothing, but to come again when the officer repeated his visit. On the third day, the peasant presented himself, and Mahmúd took his sword in silence, and wrapping himself in a loose mantle, followed him to his house. He found the guilty couple asleep, and, after extinguishing the lamp, he struck off the head of the adulterer at a blow. He then ordered lights to be brought, and, on looking at the dead man's face, burst into an exclamation of thanksgiving, and called for water, of which he drank a deep draught. Perceiving the astonishment of the peasant, he informed him he had suspected that so bold a criminal could be no other than his own nephew; that he had extinguished the light lest his justice should give way to affection; that he now saw that the offender was a stranger; and, having vowed neither to eat nor drink till he had given redress, he was nearly exhausted with thirst.

Another example is given of his sense of his duty to his people. Soon after the conquest of Irák, a caravan was cut off in the desert to the east of that country, and the mother of one of the merchants who was killed went to Ghazni to complain. Mahmúd urged the impossibility of keeping order in so remote a part of his territories; when the woman boldly answered, "Why, then, do you take

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countries which you cannot govern, and for the protection of which you must answer in the day of judgment?" Mahmúd was struck with the reproach; and, after satisfying the woman by a liberal present, he took effectual measures for the protection of the caravans.

Mahmúd was, perhaps, the richest king that ever lived. On hearing of the wealth of some former dynasty, who had accumulated jewels enough to fill seven measures, he exclaimed, "Praise be to God, who has given me a hundred measures."

Composition of his court and army.

As all the subsequent dynasties in India spring from the court or neighbourhood of Ghazni, it is to be regretted that we have so few materials for judging of the state of society and manners in both.

Things were much changed since the time of the Arab conquests, and new actors had come on the stage, widely different from those who had preceded them. Though many Arabs were still employed, both as soldiers and magistrates, even they were only Arabs by descent, while a great portion of the court and army were Túrks, and the rest, with almost all the people, were Persians.

Túrks.

The Túrks had not come into Ghazni as conquerors. Numbers of Turkish slaves had been brought into the southern countries after the conquest of Transoxiana; and their courage, their habits of obedience, their apparently dependent condition and want of connection with all around them, recommended them to the confidence of absolute monarchs, and led to their general em-

ployment. Some princes formed bodies of *Mamlúk* (*slave*) guards, and some employed individuals in offices of trust; so that they already occupied an important place in what had been the Arab empire, and soon after the death of Mahmúd brought the greater part of Asia under their dominion.

The house of Ghazni, though Túrks themselves, were less under the influence of their countrymen than most of their contemporaries. A'lptegín was a single slave, and rose to power as governor of Khorásán. He may have had some Mamlúks and other Túrks in his service; but the main body of his army, and all his subjects, were natives of the country round Ghazni. Mahmúd himself was born of a Persian mother*, and was in language and manners a Persian; but his increased resources, and the conquest of Transoxiana, would draw more Túrks about him, and their importance in the neighbouring countries would give more weight to their example.

The existence of wandering tribes in both nations leads us at first to suppose a resemblance between the Tartars and the Arabs; while the reality would be better shown by a contrast.

From the first mention of the Tartars, in the thirteenth century before Christ, they formed great nations under despotic governments. They fed sheep, on uncultivated but not unfertile plains,

* From Zábul, the country adjoining to Cábul on the south, beginning from Ghazni, and extending to, perhaps including, Sístán on the west.

and were not exposed to the sufferings and privations which fall to the lot of those who follow camels in the desert. They did not live in towns; and the extent of the dominions of their princes kept them from the anxiety arising from close contact with their external enemies.

They had, therefore, nothing to sharpen their intellect, or to give birth to feelings of independence; and, though they were as brave and hardy as the Arabs, they seem to have been made of grosser materials than that fiery and imaginative people: their wars originated in obedience, not in enthusiasm; and their cruelty arose from insensibility, not bigotry or revenge: among themselves, indeed, they were sociable and good-natured, and by no means much under the influence of the darker passions.

Wherever the Arabs conquered, they left indelible traces of their presence; religion, law, philosophy, and literature, all took a new character from them. Their bad qualities, as well as their good, were copied by their subjects and disciples; and wherever we find a Mussulman, we are sure to see a tinge of the pride, violence, and jealousy, with something of the hospitality and munificence, of the early Arab. The Tartars, on the other hand, have neither founded a religion nor introduced a literature; and, so far from impressing their own stamp on others, they have universally melted into that of the nations among whom they settled: so that, in manners and in outward appearance,

there is scarcely a feature left in common between a Tartar of Persia and one of China.

Amidst all these changes of form, there is some peculiarity of genius or temperament, which preserves a sort of national character; and, when improved by the qualities of more refined nations, they exhibit more of the manly and practical turn of Europeans than is found in any other among the nations of the East.

In the present instance, their character took its bias from the Persians, a people very likely to influence all who came into contact with them.

Persians.

With a good deal of the energy of the Arabs and Tartars, the Persians combine the suppleness and artifice of the Hindús, and a fund of talents and ingenuity peculiar to themselves; and, being a lively and restless people, they have been able (although always depressed by a singularly grievous despotism) to make a figure in the history of the world out of all proportion to their numbers or the resources of their territory.

From the first conquest of their country the Persians must have been employed in all financial and civil business, in which the Arabs were no adepts; and their rapid conversion early opened the way for them to offices of trust and power. A'bu Moslem, who placed the Abbassides on the throne, was a Persian of Isfahán; the celebrated Barmecides were Persians of Balkh; and the nation seems before long to have extended its views to the recovery of its independence. Táhir, though an

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Arab, was supported by Persians in his rebellion. The Soffarides, the Buyides, and probably the Samanides *, were Persians; and, at the time we are writing of, Mahmúd was the only sovereign not of Persian origin between the Jaxartes and the Euphrates.

Their agreeable manners and refined way of living rendered the Persians models in those respects, even in countries at a distance from their own; and their language, which had been enriched by vast accessions from the Arabic, became, a little before this time, what it still continues, the main channel of polite literature, and, in some degree, of science, through all the Mahometan part of Asia.

Relation of the different nations to the government.

These nations were in various degrees of obedience, and influenced the government in various manners.

The inhabitants of towns and plains (including the Arabs, almost all the Persians, and such of the small bodies of Túrks as had long confined themselves to particular tracts) were entirely submissive

* The Samanides are generally reckoned Túrks; but their founder was presented to the calif Mámún at Merv in Khorásán, and was neither a Túrkí chief nor a slave. The family claimed a Persian ancestor at a time when a descent from Guebres would not have been an object of ambition to men of another race. De Guignes, who exhausts all Tartar tribes, and even adopts single Túrks like the Ghaznevites, lays no claim to the Sámánís. Whether they came from Bokhára or Balkh, the fixed inhabitants of either country are Persians; and their being the first encouragers of Persian literature is another argument for their descent.

to the Sultan. The mountaineers were probably in every stage from entire obedience to nearly perfect independence. The great Túrki hordes (as the Séljúks) were separate communities unconnected with the territory they occupied, which sometimes, in the same generation, was on the A'múr and on the Wolga. Their relation to the Sultan depended on the will of their chiefs, and was as fluctuating as might be expected in such circumstances; during the vigorous reign of Mahmúd they seem in general to have been submissive.

The small portion of India possessed by Mahmúd was so recent an acquisition, that the limits of his authority, both in degree and extent, must have been ill defined. I suppose he was powerful in the plains, and had little influence in the hills.

Their shares in the government may be conjectured from the circumstances of the different nations.

Religion and law were Arabian (though modified in the latter department by local customs); and the lawyers and divines would, in many cases, be from the same country.

The Sultan had a body of guards mounted on his own horses, who, we may conclude, were *Mamlúks* (or Túrki slaves); and separate troops of Tartar horse, from beyond the Oxus, no doubt formed an important part of his army. A body of 5000 Arab horse is mentioned on one occasion, and very large bodies of Afgháns and Khiljis are often spoken

of; but we may infer, from various circumstances and analogies, that the bulk of his army was recruited promiscuously from all parts of his dominions, either singly or in small bodies, and was placed under officers of his own selection; that the contingents of particular provinces were under their governors; and that, besides the mountaineers enlisted in the ranks, many tumultuary bodies of that class served under their hereditary chiefs. All general commands were certainly held by the king's own officers, who, by their names, seem generally to have been Túrks.

The number of his regular army is said, at a muster six years before his death, to have amounted to 54,000 good horse; a moderate number for so great a state, and probably increased on occasions by temporary levies.

Though there is no mention of Hindús in Mahmúd's army, a numerous body of Hindú cavalry, under Sewand Rai, is stated to have taken part in the troubles at Ghazni within two months after the Sultan's death; whence it is obvious that he must, during his lifetime, have availed himself of the services of this class of his subjects without considering their religion as an objection.

Though the Túrki nation were still pagans, most, if not all, those in Mahmúd's army were probably Mahometans. The slaves were of course made Mussulmans as soon as they were purchased, and the free men were likely from imitation to embrace the religion of the country they were in. Some

even of the hordes had begun to be converted; but as the Túrks did not, like the Hindús, lay aside their pagan names on conversion, it is not so easy, as in the other cases, to ascertain their religion.*

The civil administration must have been entirely conducted by Persians. The two celebrated vizírs, Abúl Abbáss and Ahmed Meimendi, were of that nation, and appear to have lived in constant rivalry with the great Túrki generals. The former of the two, being more a man of business than learning, introduced the practice of writing all public papers in Persian. Ahmed restored Arabic in permanent documents; such, probably, as charters, and those of the class which in Europe would be written in Latin.

It is owing to this circumstance that, although India was never directly conquered by Persia, the language of business, and of writing in general, is all taken from the latter country. The Persian language is also spoken much more generally than French is in Europe. It likewise furnishes a large proportion of the vernacular language of Hindostan, the basis of which is an original Indian dialect.

* Seljúk is said to have been converted; and the fact is proved by the scriptural names of his sons, the contemporaries of Sultán Mahmúd, which were Michael, Israel, Músá (Moses), and according to some Yúnas (Jonas); but his celebrated grandson, though a zealous Mahometan, bore the Tartar name of Tóghrul, and *his* equally famous successor that of Alp Arslán.

## CHAP. IV.

### OTHER KINGS OF THE HOUSES OF GHAZNI AND GHÓR.

*Sultán Mohammed.*

BOOK V.

A.D. 1030, A.H. 421.

SULTÁN MAHMÚD left two sons, one of whom, Mohammed, had, by his gentleness and docility, so ingratiated himself with his father, that he fixed on him for his successor in preference to his more untractable brother, Masáúd. Mohammed was accordingly put in possession, and crowned as soon as Mahmúd was dead; but the commanding temper and headlong courage of Masáúd, together with his personal strength and soldier-like habits, made him more popular, and, in fact, more fit to govern, in the times which were approaching. Accordingly a large body of guards deserted from Mohammed immediately after his accession; and by the time Masáúd arrived from his government of Isfahán, the whole army was ready to throw off its allegiance. Mohammed was seized, blinded, and sent into confinement; and Masáúd ascended the throne within five months after his father's death.

*Sultán Masáúd.*

A.D. 1030, A.H. 421.

The situation of the new monarch required all the energy by which he was distinguished; for

the power of the Seljúks had already risen to such a height as to threaten his empire with the calamities which they afterwards brought on it.

CHAP. IV.

Rise of the Seljúks.

The origin of this family is not distinctly known; and their early history is related in different ways. The most probable account is, that the chief from whom they derived their name held a high station under one of the great Tartar princes; that he incurred the displeasure of his sovereign, and emigrated with his adherents to Jáund, on the left bank of the Jaxartes. His sons were afterwards subject to Sultán Mahmúd; and, by one account, were either induced or compelled by him to move to the south of the Oxus, and settle in Khorásán.* It is, however, more probable that they remained in Transoxiana, under a loose subjection to the Sultan, carrying on wars and incursions on their own account, until the end of his reign, when they began to push their depredations into his immediate territories. They received a check at that time, as has been related, and did not enter Khorásán in force until the reign of Masáúd.

Though individuals of the Túrki nation had long before made themselves masters of the governments which they served, as the Mamlúk guards at Bagdad, Alptegín at Ghazni, &c.; yet the Seljúks were the first *horde*, in modern times, that obtained possessions to the south of the Oxus; and, although the invasions of Chengíz Khán and

* Amír bin Kadr *Seljúki* was left by Mahmúd in the command of a garrison in India in A. D. 1021, A. H. 412.

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Tamerlane were afterwards on a greater scale, the Seljúk conquest was raised to equal importance from the fact that the representative of one of its branches still fills the throne of Constantinople.*

Their wars with Masáúd.

At the time of Masáúd's accession their inroads into Khorásán began again to be troublesome. They did not, however, seem to require the personal exertions of the new king, who was therefore left at leisure to reduce the province of Mecrán under his authority; and as within the next three years he received the submission of the provinces of Mázanderán and Gurgán, then in the hands of a family of unconverted fire-worshippers, he had, before his power began to decline, attained to the sovereignty of all Persia, except the province of Fárs.

A. D. 1031, A. H. 422.

A. D. 1034, A. H. 425.

While engaged with Mecrán he received intelligence of a doubtful battle with the Seljúks in Khárism. Mahmúd's favourite general, Altún Tásh, was killed in this battle, and his successor thought it prudent to come to terms very inconsistent with the dignity of the monarchy. Notwithstanding this misfortune, Masáúd thought himself sufficiently at liberty to enter on an Indian expedition, the only result of which was the capture of Sersúti, a place of no importance on the left bank of the Satlaj. The next year was marked by a pestilence, which raged with unexampled violence over the

* De Guignes. D'Herbelot. Price.

whole of Persia and the neighbouring countries, including India, and which probably occasioned a sort of suspension of military operations; but in A. D. 1034, while Masáúd was engaged in settling Mázanderán, his generals received another defeat from the Seljúks, to whom all his wisest counsellors thought it was now time for their sovereign to give his most serious attention. But Masáúd, perhaps deceived by the submissive language of the Seljúks, who still professed themselves his slaves, thought he had time to settle some disturbances in the opposite extremity of his dominions. He first quelled a rebellion at Láhór, in which the royal army employed against the insurgent (a Mussulman governor) was composed of Hindús, under a chief whose name (Tilok, son of Jei Sein) shows him to have been of their own nation and religion. Next year he himself headed an expedition to India, took Hánsi, and left a garrison in Sónpat, near Delhi. A. H. 425.

In the mean time the danger from the Seljúks had become too serious to be dissembled. The Sultan marched against them in person. His conduct of the war evinced more activity than skill; and after two years of indecisive operations (during which Tóghral Bég once made an incursion to the gates of Ghazni), his affairs were in a worse position than when he first took the field. At length the two parties met on equal terms: a decisive battle was fought at Zendecán or Dandunáken, near Merv. Masáúd, being deserted on the field by some of his A. D. 1039. A. H. 43

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Túrki followers, was totally and irretrievably defeated, and was compelled to fly to Merv. He there assembled the wreck of his army, and returned to Ghazni; but, far from being able to collect such a force as might oppose the Seljúks, he found himself without the means of repressing the disorders which were breaking out round the capital. In these circumstances he determined to withdraw to India, and avail himself of the respite thus obtained to endeavour to retrieve his affairs. But discipline was now dissolved, and all respect for the king's authority destroyed; soon after he had crossed the Indus his own guards attempted to plunder his treasure; and the confusion which followed led to a general mutiny of the army, the deposition of Masáúd, and the restoration of his brother Mohammed to the throne. The blindness of the latter prince rendering him incapable of conducting the government, he transferred the effective administration to his son Ahmed, one of whose first acts was to put the deposed king to death.

Deposition and death of Masáúd.

A. D. 1040, A. H. 432.

Masáúd was more than ten years on the throne, and, notwithstanding the turbulent and disastrous character of his reign, he found time to promote the progress of knowledge, and showed himself a worthy successor of Mahmúd in his patronage of learned men and in the erection of magnificent public buildings.

### *Sultán Módúd.*

The defeat which overthrew the government of Masáúd was attended with the most important consequences to India, as it raised the Mussulman province there from a despised dependency to one of the most valuable portions of the kingdom; but the events which follow have little interest in Indian history. The revolutions in the government, being like those common to all Asiatic monarchies, fatigue without instructing: the struggles with the Seljúks only affected the western dominions of Ghazni; and those with the Hindús had no permanent effect at all. For the history *of the people*, Asiatic writers afford no materials. Yet this period must have been one of the most deserving of notice of the whole course of their career. It must have been then that permanent residence in India, and habitual intercourse with the natives, introduced a change into the manners and ways of thinking of the invaders, that the rudiments of a new language were formed, and a foundation laid for the present national character of the Mahometan Indians.

The remaining transactions of the house of Ghazni need not therefore occupy much space.

Módúd, the son of Masáúd, was at Balkh, watching the Seljúks, when he heard of his father's murder. He set off for Ghazni, and thence for Hindostan, and at Derra Núr, or Fattehábád, in the valley of Laghmán, he was met by Mohammed

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and his son Ahmed, whom he totally defeated. Both of those princes, with all their relatives, fell into his hands, and he put them all to death, except one, whom he spared on account of the respect he had shown to his father, Masáúd, while the rest were insulting him in his misfortunes. He was soon after opposed by his own brother, who set up his standard in the east of the Panjáb, and to whom his troops were deserting in bodies, when he was relieved from this danger by the sudden death of the pretender, and was enabled to turn his attention to the affairs of the west. After the defeat of Masáúd the whole kingdom of Ghazni lay open to the invader; but the views of the Seljúks were not limited to that conquest. They met at Níshapúr, crowned Tóghral Bég king, and divided the country conquered and to be conquered into four provinces, to be held under his authority.

A. D. 1040, A. H. 432.

A. D. 1041, A. H. 433.

Their principal force was turned towards the west; and A'bu Alí, to whom Herát, Sistán, and Ghór were assigned, was not strong enough singly to bear down the opposition of the Ghaznevites.* From this cause Módúd was able not only to maintain himself in Ghazni, but to recover Transoxiana; and as he was married to the daughter of Jáker Bey (called by the Mussulmans, Dáúd), the brother of Tóghral and father of A'lp Arslán, he appeared to be in a favourable position towards the conquerors who had so lately threatened the existence of his monarchy.

* De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 190.

While he was thus successful in the west, the rája of Delhi took advantage of his absence to recover Tanésar, Hánsi, and all his father's conquests beyond the Satlaj; and encouraged by this unusual success, he declared that the god of Nagarcót had appeared to him in a dream, and invited him to his temple, which he was destined to deliver. Though Nagarcót was now better guarded than when it fell into the hands of Mahmúd, such was the spirit excited among the Hindús, that they entered the Panjáb in numbers, were joined by zealots from all parts, and ere long found themselves masters of the temple. The rája contrived that the image supposed to have been demolished should be found miraculously preserved: the oracle of the temple was revived and was consulted by innumerable votaries; while the Hindús, aroused by the Divine interposition in their favour, took up arms throughout the whole of the Panjáb, and were soon in a condition to lay siege to Láhór. The Mahometans, driven to their last retreat, and indignant at the thoughts of yielding to those whom they had so often defeated, defended the place with the utmost obstinacy; no relief appeared from Ghazni, and after a siege of seven months, they were reduced to extremity; but even then they took a manly resolution, and, swearing to stand by each other to the last, they rushed out on the Hindús, who little expected such an effort, and drove them from their lines, of which they took possession. The Hindús had probably already

A. D. 1043, A. H. 435.

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begun to lose heart from the length of the siege; and now, fancying that all was to begin again, and that succours must soon arrive from beyond the Indus, they raised the siege and withdrew.

Their alarms were groundless. Módúd was again engaged in hostilities with the "ever restless" Seljúks, and was, besides, in danger from revolts of his own subjects. He had also engaged to assist Yeheia, prince of Ghór, in recovering his territory from A'bu Alí (whether the Seljúk, or a prince of the same name of the Ghóri's own family, does not appear); and when he had succeeded, by means of his alliance, he perfidiously put the prince of
A. D. 1046, A. H. 438. Ghór to death, and rendered the country tributary, and in some shape dependent, on himself.

At length he found time to send an officer to
A. D. 1048, A. H. 440. recover his affairs in Láhór. This chief began his operations prosperously, and was succeeding, by a mixture of force and conciliation, in restoring the royal authority, when he was recalled, in consequence of the enmity of the ministers, and put to death by their intrigues. Before Módúd knew the extent to which his confidence had been betrayed,
A. D 1049, A. H. 441. he was taken ill himself, and died at Ghazni, after a reign of nine years.

*Sultán Abul Hasan.*

On the death of Módúd an attempt was made to set up his infant son, but was crushed by his brother Abul Hasan. The new king's dominions

were limited to Ghazni and the neighbourhood; Ali Bin Rabia, the general who had set up the infant, fled to India, and not only secured the territories which had been possessed by Módúd on both sides of the Indus, but recovered Multán, where the Afgháns had asserted their independence, and some of the nearest parts of Sind, which they appear to have conquered. CHAP. IV.

In the west, also, the whole country was in arms in favour of Abul Rashíd, the king's uncle, who, in the course of time, advanced on Ghazni, and deposed Abul Hasan, after he had reigned two years.

### *Sultán Abul Rashíd.*

The new reign began auspiciously. Ali Bin Rabia was induced to return to his allegiance; and the Hindús must, by this time, have abandoned their attempt on the Panjáb, as one of Abul Rashíd's first acts was the recovery of Nagarcót. But his prospects were soon clouded by the revolt of a chief named Tógral in Sístán, Abul Rashíd hurried to oppose him, leaving the bulk of his army in India. His force proved unequal to that of the rebels, and he was compelled to shut himself up in Ghazni, where he was taken and put to death, with nine princes of the blood royal, before he had completed the second year of his reign. Tógral seized on the vacant throne, but was assassinated within forty days; and the army, having now returned from India, thought only of con- A. D. 1051, A. H. 443.

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tinuing the crown in the line of Sebektegín. Three princes of his house were discovered imprisoned in a distant fort; and no one of them having a superiority of title to the others, it was determined to settle the succession by lot. The chance fell on Farokhzád, who was forthwith raised to the throne.

### *Sultán Farokhzád.*

A. D. 1052, A. H. 444.

Farokhzád had a longer and, in some respects, a more prosperous reign than his predecessor. During the six years that he sat on the throne he gained such advantages over the Seljúks in the declining years of Jáker Bey Dáúd, that he looked forward to recovering the whole of Khorásán; and though his career was checked by the rising genius of Alp Arslán, he remained on a footing of honourable equality with his competitor, till he was assassinated by some slaves while in the bath.

### *Sultán I'brahím.*

A. D. 1058, A. H. 450.

He was succeeded by his brother I'brahím. The new king had, from his youth, been remarkable for his devotion and for the sanctity of his manners. His first act was to make peace with the Seljúks, renouncing all claim to the territories which they had conquered from his family. He next turned his attention to internal reforms, extended the fast of the Rámzán to three months, and strictly enforced the observance of it for this in-

creased period; he distributed large sums in charity; he also attended lectures on religion; and bore patiently with the rebukes he sometimes received on those occasions. He was, moreover, an eminent proficient in the beautiful art of penmanship, so much prized in the East. Yet he did not, it is said, neglect the duties of his government or the administration of justice. He even, on one occasion, took the field in person, and captured Adjudín and two other places on the Satlaj from the Hindús. This is the only achievement recorded of him, except that he sent two Koráns, written with his own hand, to the calif; and we can scarcely blame the indifference of his historians, who have left it uncertain whether his inglorious reign lasted for thirty-one years or forty-two. He left thirty-six sons and forty daughters, the latter of whom he gave in marriage to learned and religious men. CHAP. IV.

### *Sultán Masáúd II.*

His successor, Masáúd, was endowed with equal gentleness and more energy. His generals carried his arms beyond the Ganges, and he himself revised the laws and formed them into a consistent code. In his time the residence of the sovereigns began to be transferred to Láhór. A. D. 1089, A. H. 481. or A. D. 1100, A. H. 492.

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*Sultán Arslán.*

A. D. 1114, A. H. 508.

The friendship which had so long continued with the Seljúks had been drawn closer by matrimonial alliances, and this intimate connection was in time the occasion of a rupture.

Arslán, on the death of his father, Masáúd II., seizèd and imprisoned his brothers. Behrám, one of the number, had the good fortune to escape, and appealed to Sultán Sanjar Seljúk, whose sister, the mother of all the princes, was greatly offended at the conduct of her eldest son towards the rest. Incited by her, and perhaps by his own ambitious views, Sanjar called on Arslán to release his brothers, and on his refusal, marched against him with an army rated by Ferishta at 30,000 horse and 50,000 foot. Arslán was defeated, after an obstinate engagement, and fled to India; but as soon as Sanjar had withdrawn his army he returned, chaced out Behrám, who had been left in possession, and obliged Sanjar to take the field again. This struggle was his last; he was constrained to seek refuge among the Afghâns, but was overtaken and put to death, leaving Behrám in undisturbed possession of the throne, which he himself had occupied for only three years.

*Sultán Behrám.*

A. D. 1118, A. H. 512.

The beginning of Behrám's reign was disturbed by two insurrections of his governor in India, who

was pardoned on the first occasion, and lost his life on the second.

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Behrám had then leisure to indulge his natural disposition to literature, of which, like all his family, he was a distinguished patron. He encouraged original authors both in poetry and philosophy, and was particularly zealous in promoting translations from other languages into Persian. The famous poet Nizámí resided at his court, and one of the five great poems of that author is dedicated to him.

It would have been happy if he had never been withdrawn from those pursuits. Towards the close of a long and prosperous reign he was led into a course of greater activity, which ended in the merited ruin of himself and all his race.

Quarrel with Ghór.

After the murder of the prince of Ghór by Módúd, that territory seems to have remained dependent on Ghazni, and the reigning prince, Kutbudín Súr*, was married to the daughter of Sultán Behrám. Some difference, however, arose between those princes; and Behrám, having got his son-in-law into his power, either poisoned him or put him openly to death. The latter is most probable; for Seif u dín†, the brother of the deceased, immediately took up arms to revenge him, and advanced towards Ghazni, whence Behrám was

* Called Kootb ooddeen Mahomed Ghorry Afghan, in Briggs's "Ferishta," vol. i. p. 151.

† Seif ooddeen Soory, Ibid. vol. i. p. 152.

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compelled to fly to Kirmán in the mountains towards the east.

Ghazni taken by the Ghorians.

Seif u dín was so secure in his new possession, that he sent back most of his army to Fírúz Cóh, his usual residence, under his brother Alá u dín. But in spite of all endeavours to render himself popular in Ghazni, he failed to shake the attachment of the inhabitants to the old dynasty: a plot was entered into to invite Behrám to return; and as soon as the snow had cut off the communication with Ghór, that prince advanced against his former capital with an army collected from the unsubdued part of his dominions. Seif u dín, conscious of his present weakness, was about to withdraw, but was persuaded, by the perfidious promises and entreaties of the people of Ghazni, to try the fate of a battle; and being deserted on the field by the citizens, the small body of his own troops that were with him were overpowered, and he himself was wounded and taken prisoner. Behrám's conduct on this occasion was as inconsistent with his own character as it was repugnant to humanity. He made his prisoner be led round the city with every circumstance of ignominy; and, after exposing him to the shouts and insults of the rabble, put him to death by torture. He also ordered his vizír, a Seiad or descendant of the Prophet, to be impaled.

Recovered by Behrám.

Cruel execution of the king of Ghór.

When the news reached Alá u dín, he was raised to the highest pitch of rage and indignation, and vowed a bitter revenge on all concerned.

He seems, in his impatience, to have set out with what was thought an inadequate force, and he was met with an offer of peace from Behrám, accompanied by a warning of the certain destruction on which he was rushing. He replied, "that Behrám's threats were as impotent as his arms; that it was no new thing for kings to make war on each other; but that barbarity such as his was unexampled among princes."

In the battle which ensued, he appeared at one time to be overpowered by the superior numbers of the Ghaznevites; but his own thirst for vengeance, joined to the bravery and indignation of his countrymen, bore down all opposition, and compelled Behrám to fly, almost alone, from the scene of action.

Ghazni destroyed by the Ghorians.

The injuries, insults, and cruelties heaped on his brother, by the people no less than the prince, would have justified a severe retaliation on Ghazni; but the indiscriminate destruction of so great a capital turns all our sympathy against the author of it, and has fixed a stigma on Alá u dín from which he will never be free as long as his name is remembered.* This noble city, perhaps at the time the greatest in Asia, was given up for three,

* He is always called Jehánsóz, *Burner of the world*, and, though otherwise praised, is mentioned by no historian on this occasion, without the strongest terms of censure. Even the unprovoked massacres of Chengíz and Tamerlane are spoken of with much less disapprobation: a proof, perhaps, of the more civilised character of the earlier period, in which such proceedings excited so much surprise.

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and some say seven, days to flame, slaughter, and devastation. Even after the first fury was over, individuals were put to death, and all the Seiads that could be found were sacrificed in expiation of the murder of Seif u dín's vizír. All the superb monuments of the Ghaznevite kings were demolished, and every trace of them effaced, except the tombs of Mahmúd, Masáúd, and I'brahím; the two first of whom were spared for their valour, and the last probably for his sanctity. The unfortunate Behrám only lived to witness the calamities he had brought on his country; for, during his flight to India, he sank under fatigue and misfortune, and expired after a reign of thirty-five years.

A. D. 1152, A. H. 547.

House of Ghazni retire to India.

His son Khusru continued his retreat to Láhór, and was received amidst the acclamations of his subjects, who probably were not displeased to see the seat of government permanently transferred to their city.

### *Sultán Khusru.*

Most of the few remaining events of the history of Ghaznevite Sultans will appear in that of the house of Ghór, and it is only to complete the series that I insert their reigns in this place.

Till A. D. 1160, A. H. 555.

Khusru governed his Indian territory in peace for seven years. His administration was acceptable to his subjects, but was marked by no event except a feeble attempt on Ghazni.

*Sultán Khusru Malik.*

Khusru Malik reigned for upwards of twenty-seven lunar years. He recovered the whole of the province of Láhór, to the same extent as was possessed by Sultán I'brahím. But at length he was invaded, and ultimately subdued, by the kings of Ghór, in whose history that of Ghazni thenceforth merges, the race of Sebektegín expiring with this prince.

A. D. 1160, A. H. 555.

A. D. 1186, A. H. 582.

## HOUSE OF GHÓR.*

### *Alá u dín Ghóri.*

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Origin of the house of Ghór.

The origin of the house of Ghór has been much discussed: the prevalent and apparently the correct opinion is, that both they and their subjects were Afgháns. Ghór was invaded by the Mussulmans within a few years after the death of Yezdegerd. It is spoken of by Ebn Haukal as only partially converted in the ninth century.† The inhabitants, according to the same author, at that time spoke the language of Khorásán.‡

* Called, in the "Tabakáti Násiri," the house of Sansabáni.

† Ouseley's Ebn Haukal, pp. 221. 226. See also p. 212. He there says that all beyond Ghór may be considered as Hindostan; meaning, no doubt, that it was inhabited by infidels.

‡ The Afgháns look on the mountains of Ghór as their earliest seat; and I do not know that it has ever been denied that the *people* of that country in early times were Afgháns. The only question relates to the ruling family. An author quoted by Professor Dorn (*History of the Afghans*, annotations, page 92.), says that they were Túrks from Khita; but it is a bare assertion of *one* author; for the other quotation in the same place relates to the *successors* of the house of Ghór. All other authors, as far as I can learn, include them in the Afghán tribe of Súr; though they are all guilty of an inconsistency, in deriving them from Súr and Sám, two sons of Zohák, a fabulous king of Persia, quite unconnected with the Afgháns. The same authors add some extraordinary legends regarding their more recent history. They relate that, after the time of Mahmúd, the head of the house of Súr, whose name was Sám,

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In the time of Sultán Mahmúd it was held, as has been observed, by a prince whom Ferishta calls Mohammed Soory (or Súr) Afghán. From his time the history is easily brought down to the events last related.

When Alá u dín had satiated his fury at Ghazni he returned to Fírúz Cóh, and gave himself up to

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was obliged to desert his country and fly to India, where, though still a sincere Mussulman at heart, he became a servant in a temple of idols. He there amassed a fortune, and was on his return home, when he was shipwrecked and drowned on the coast of Persia. His son, Husén Súri, clung to a plank, on which he floated for three days; and although for all that time he had a tiger, which had been also in the wreck, for a companion, yet the animal did not attempt to molest him, and he made his way to a city. He was there thrown into prison; but being at length delivered, he set out for Ghazni. On the road he fell in with a band of robbers, who, glad of so fine a recruit, gave him a horse and arms, and compelled him to join their troop. On the same night they were all seized and brought before the Sultan, who happened to be the pious I'brahím, and were ordered to be beheaded. Husén, however, told his story; and, as his appearance was prepossessing, the Sultan believed him, and ultimately sent him as governor to his native kingdom. From all this we are tempted to infer that some adventurer did gain authority in Ghór, through the Sultans of Ghazni; that he either belonged originally to the tribe, or was adopted into it, perhaps marrying into the chief's family (as is so common with Normans and others in the Highland clans), and afterwards invented the above romantic story, and equally romantic pedigree, to cover his low origin. Professor Dorn, in the annotations above quoted, has collected all that has been written on the origin of the house of Ghór, as well as on the eight different accounts of the origin of the Afgháns, and has come to very rational conclusions on both questions.

On the house of Ghór, see also many articles in D'Herbelot, De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 181., and *Briggs's Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 161.

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pleasure, as was his natural propensity. He had not long enjoyed his new conquest, before he was called to meet a more formidable antagonist than he had yet encountered.

Sultán Sanjar was now the nominal head of the empire of the Seljúks; and, although the subordination of his nephew in the western part of it was merely nominal, yet he possessed in effect the greater part of the power of the family.

Taking of Ghazni by the Seljúks.

When he placed Behrám on the throne of Ghazni, he stipulated for a tribute * which he affected to consider as still due from Alá u dín. The latter prince refused to acknowledge the claim, and Sanjar marched against him, defeated him, and made him prisoner. He however treated him with liberality, and admitted him to his familiar society. Alá u dín, who was naturally lively and agreeable, profited by the opportunity, and so won on Sanjar by his insinuating manners and his poetical and other accomplishments, that the Seljúk prince determined to restore him to liberty, and even to replace him on his throne. †

Restoration of Alá u dín.

This generous resolution of Sanjar's was, no doubt, strengthened by his own situation, which

* De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 252.

† End of A. D. 1152, A. H. 547, or the beginning of the next year. De Guignes and D'Herbelot make the date A. D. 1149, A. H. 544; but it must have been after the taking of Ghazni, and before Sanjar's captivity, which fixes the date with precision. Some of the verses that had such an effect on Sanjar are preserved; but it must have been to their complimentary turn rather than their poetical merit that they owed their success.

did not render it desirable for him to embarrass himself with new conquests. CHAP. IV.

A few years before this time Atziz, Sanjar's governor* of Khárizm, had rebelled, and, dreading his sovereign's resentment, had called in the aid of the Khitans, a Tartar tribe, who, having been driven by the Chinese from the north of China, made their appearance in Transoxiana. These allies enabled Atziz to defeat the Sultan. In the course of the next two years the power of the Seljúks again prevailed, and Atziz was for a time constrained to acknowledge their supremacy.

But the invasion of the Khitans had more permanent effects than those; for their arrival displaced the portion of the tribe of Euz† which had remained in Transoxiana while the other portion was conquering in Syria and Asia Minor; and these exiles, being forced on the south, became in their turn invaders of the territories of the Seljúks. Sanjar opposed them with his usual vigour, at the head of an army of 100,000 men. In spite of all his efforts he was totally defeated‡, fell into the hands of the enemy, and remained in captivity for A. D. 1153, A. H. 548.

* This is the origin of the kings of Khárizim, so celebrated in the East, who overthrew the kingdom of Ghór, and were in their turn overthrown by Chengíz Khán.

† The Euz tribe are Túrks, who were long settled in Kipchák. They are, according to De Guignes, the ancestors of the Túrkmans (vol. i. part ii. pp. 510. 522., vol. ii. p. 190.). They are also called Uzes, Guz, Gozz, Gozi, and Gazi; but in Ferghána, where they are the ruling tribe, they are still called Euz (pronounced like the English verb *use*.)

‡ De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 256.

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three years, till within a few months of his death in A. D. 1156, A. H. 551.

Fall of the Seljúks.

Before the release of Alá u dín, Sultán Khusru resolved to seize the opportunity of recovering Ghazni; but acted with so little promptitude, that he heard of the captivity of Sanjar before he reached his destination, and immediately returned to Láhór.

He however now found unexpected allies; for the Euzes, after defeating Sanjar, poured over all the open part of Alá u dín's territory, and took possession of Ghazni, which they retained for two years: after that time they either evacuated or neglected it, and it fell for a time into the hands of Khusru.* His success, even for a time, was probably owing to the death of Alá u dín, who expired in A. D. 1156, A. H. 551, and was succeeded by his son, Seif u dín, after a short but eventful reign of four years.

### *Seif u dín Ghóri.*

A. D. 1156 A. H. 551.

Not long before the death of Alá u dín, he had placed his two nephews, Gheiás u dín and Shaháb u dín, in confinement. Whatever may have been the real motive of this proceeding, a natural one presents itself in the desire of securing the succession of his young and inexperienced son, to whom those active princes were likely to prove formida-

* Ferishta and De Guignes make the Euz retain Ghazni for fifteen years.

ble competitors. This consideration had no weight with Seif u dín, whose first act was to release his cousins and restore them to their governments; a confidence which he never had reason to repent.

His other qualities, both personal and mental, corresponded to this noble trait, and might have insured a happy reign, if among so many virtues he had not inherited the revengeful spirit of his race. One of his chiefs appearing before him decorated with jewels which had belonged to his wife, and of which she had been stripped after his father's defeat by Sanjar, he was so transported by passion at the sight that he immediately put the offender to death with his own hand. A'bul Abbás, the brother of the deceased, suppressed his feelings at the time; but seized an early opportunity, when Seif u dín was engaged with a body of the Euz, and thrust his lance through the Sultán's body in the midst of the fight. Other historians say that he went into open rebellion, and killed the king in a regular action; and there are different accounts of the transactions that followed that event. They terminated, however, in the death of A'bul Abbás, and the succession of Gheiás u dín, the elder of the late Sultan's cousins. Seif u dín had reigned little more than a year.*

### *Gheiás u dín Ghóri.*

Immediately on his accession, Gheiás u dín A. D. 1157, A. H. 552.

* D'Herbelot. Ferishta. Abstract of Mussulman histories, in Dorn's "Afgháns."

associated his brother, Mohammed Shaháb u dín, in the government. He retained the sovereignty during his whole life, but seems to have left the conduct of military operations almost entirely to Shaháb u dín; on whom, for some years before Gheiás u dín's death, the active duties of the government seem in a great measure to have devolved.

The harmony in which these brothers lived is not the only proof that they retained the family attachment which prevailed among their predecessors. Their uncle, (who ruled the dependent principality of Bámián, extending along the upper Oxus from the east of Balkh,) having attempted to seize the throne on the death of Seif u dín, was defeated in battle, and so surrounded that his destruction seemed inevitable; when his nephews threw themselves from their horses, ran to hold his stirrup, and treated him with such profound respect, that, although he at first suspected that they were mocking his misfortune, they at last succeeded in soothing his feelings, and restored him to his principality. It continued in his immediate family for three generations, until it fell, with the rest of the dominions of Ghór, on the conquest by the king of Khárizm.*

All these transactions took place in less than five years from the fall of Ghazni, and the two brothers began now to turn to foreign conquest with the vigour of a new dynasty.

* D'Herbelot. Dorn's Annotations.

They took advantage of the decline of the Seljúks to reduce the eastern part of Khorásán; Gheiás u dín was personally engaged in that enterprise, and also in the recovery of Ghazni; and from that time forward he divided his residence between Fírúz Cóh, Ghazni, and Herát. At the last city he built the great mosque so much spoken of for its magnificence in those and later ages.

First expedition to India under Shaháb u dín.

Shaháb u dín's attention was, for a long time, almost entirely turned to India; and he may be considered the founder of the empire in that country which has lasted till our time.

A. D. 1176, A. H. 572.

He did not begin till A. D. 1176, A. H. 572, when he took U'ch, at the junction of the rivers of the Panjáb with the Indus. Two years afterwards he led an expedition to Guzerát, in which he was defeated, and compelled to retreat with as many disasters as Mahmúd, and without the consolation of success.

A. D. 1178, A. H. 574.

A. D. 1178, A. H. 575. and A. D. 1179, A. H. 576.

In two expeditions to Láhór he broke the strength of Khusru Malik, the last of the Ghaznevites, and compelled him to give up his son as a hostage.

A. D. 1181, A. H. 577.

Expulsion of the house of Ghazni from the Panjáb. A. D. 1184 A. H. 580.

His next expedition was to Sind, which he overran to the sea shore. After his return he again engaged in hostilities with Khusru Malik, who, taking courage from despair, made an alliance with the Gakkars, captured one of Shaháb u dín's strongest forts, and obliged him to call in the aid of stratagem for a purpose which force seemed insufficient to accomplish. He affected alarms from the west, assembled his army as if for operations in

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Khorásán, and, professing an anxious desire to make peace with Khusru Malik, released his son, who had been hitherto kept as a hostage. Khusru Malik, entirely thrown off his guard by these appearances, quitted Láhór, and set out to meet his son, so unexpectedly restored to him; when Shaháb u dín put himself at the head of a strong body of chosen cavalry, and, marching with celerity and secrecy through unfrequented routes, suddenly interposed himself between Khusru Malik and his capital; and, surrounding his camp by night, made him prisoner, and soon after occupied Láhór, which no longer offered resistance. Khusru and his family were sent to Gheiás u dín and imprisoned in a castle in Ghirjistán, where many years after they were put to death by one or other of the contending parties during the war with the king of Khárizm.

A. D. 1186, A. H. 582.

Wars with the Hindús.

Shaháb u dín had now no Mahometan rival left, and the contest between him and the Hindús seemed at first sight very unequal. As his army was drawn from all the warlike provinces between the Indus and Oxus, and was accustomed to contend with the Seljúks and the northern hordes of Tartars, we should not expect it to meet much resistance from a people naturally gentle and inoffensive, broken into small states, and forced into war without any hopes of gain or aggrandisement: yet none of the Hindú principalities fell without a severe struggle; and some were never entirely subdued, but still remain substantive states after the Mussulman empire has gone to ruin.

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The Rájpúts.

This unexpected opposition was chiefly owing to the peculiar character of the Rájpúts, arising from their situation as the military class in the original Hindú system. The other classes, though kept together as *casts* by community of religious rites, were mixed up in civil society, and were under no chiefs except the ordinary magistrates of the country. But the Rájpúts were born soldiers; each division had its hereditary leader; and each formed a separate community, like clans in other countries, the members of which were bound by many ties to their chiefs and to each other. The rules of cast still subsisted, and tended to render more powerful the connection just described.

As the chiefs of those clans stood in the same relation to the rája as their own retainers did to them, the king, nobility, and soldiery all made one body, united by the strongest feelings of kindred and military devotion. The sort of feudal system that prevailed among the Rájpúts * gave additional stability to this attachment, and all together produced the pride of birth, the high spirit and the romantic notions, so striking in the military class of that period. Their enthusiasm was kept up by the songs of their bards, and inflamed by frequent contests for glory or for love. They treated women with a respect unusual in the East; and were guided, even towards their enemies, by rules of honour, which it was disgraceful to violate. But, although they had so many of the characteristics of chivalry,

* See page 144. of this volume.

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they had not the high-strained sentiments and artificial refinements of our knights, and were more in the spirit of Homer's heroes than of Spenser's or Ariosto's. If to these qualities we add a very strong disposition to indolence (which may have existed formerly, though not likely to figure in history), and make allowances for the effects of a long period of depression, we have the character of the Rájpúts of the present day; who bear much the same resemblance to their ancestors that those did to the warriors of the "Mahá Bhárat."*

With all the noble qualities of the early Rájpúts was mixed a simplicity derived from their want of intercourse with other nations, which rendered them inferior in practical ability, and even in military efficiency, to men actuated by much less elevated sentiments than theirs.

Among the effects of the division into clans, one was, that although the Rájpúts are anything but a migratory people, yet, when they have been compelled by external force to leave their seats, they have often moved in a body like a Tartar horde; and when they occupied new lands, they distributed them in the same proportions as their former ones, and remained without any alteration but that of place.

Shortly before the time of Shaháb u dín, the four

* Their modern history is full of instances of loyalty and military honour. Their last great war was between the rájas of Jeipúr and Jodpúr for the hand of a princess of Oudipúr. (See *Tod's Rajasthan*, and other books and official publications.)

greatest kingdoms in India were — Delhi, then held by the clan of Tomára; Ajmír, by that of Chouhán; Canouj, by the Ráthórs; and Guzerát, by the Baghilas, who had supplanted the Chalúkas: but the Tomára chief, dying without male issue, adopted his grandson Pritwí, rája of Ajmír, and united the Tomáras and Chouháns under one head.

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As the rája of Canouj was also grandson of the Tomára chief by another daughter, he was mortally offended at the preference shown to his cousin; and the wars and jealousies to which this rivalship gave rise contributed greatly to Shaháb u dín's success in his designs on India.

A. D. 1191, A. H. 587. Defeat of Shaháb u dín.

His first attack was on Pritwí Rája, king of Ajmír and Delhi. The armies met at Tirouri, between Tanésar and Carnál, on the great plain, where most of the contests for the possession of India have been decided. The Mussulman mode of fighting was to charge with bodies of cavalry in succession, who either withdrew after discharging their arrows, or pressed their advantage, as circumstances might suggest. The Hindús, on the other hand, endeavoured to outflank their enemy, and close upon him on both sides, while he was busy with his attack on their centre. Their tactics were completely successful on this occasion: while Shaháb u dín was engaged in the centre of his army, he learned that both his wings had given way, and soon found himself surrounded, along with such of his adherents as had followed his example in re-

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fusing to quit the field. In this situation he defended himself with desperate courage. He charged into the thickest of the enemy, and had reached the viceroy of Delhi, brother to the rája, and wounded him in the mouth with his lance, when he himself received a wound, and would have fallen from his horse with loss of blood, had not one of his followers leapt up behind him and supported him until he had extricated him from the conflict, and carried him to a place of safety.

The rout, however, was complete. The Mahometans were pursued for forty miles; and Shaháb u dín, after collecting the wreck of his army at Láhór, returned, himself, to the other side of the Indus. He first visited his brother at Ghór, or Fírúz Cóh, and then remained settled at Ghazni, where he seemed to forget his misfortunes in pleasure and festivity. But, in spite of appearances, his disgrace still rankled in his bosom, and, as he himself told an aged counsellor, "he never slumbered in ease, or waked but in sorrow and anxiety."*

Return of Shaháb u dín to India.

A. D. 1193, A. H. 589.

At length, having recruited an army, composed of Túrks, Tájiks, and Afgháns, many of whom had their helmets ornamented with jewels, and their armour inlaid with silver and gold, he again began his march towards India.†

Pritwí Rája again met him with a vast army, swelled by numerous allies who were attracted by

* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. i. p. 173.

† This description is from Ferishta: he fixes the number at 120,000 horse.

his former success. He sent a haughty message to Shaháb u dín, with a view to deter him from advancing. The Mussulman general replied in moderate terms, and spoke of referring to his brother for orders; but when the Hindús, in blind reliance on their numbers, had encamped close to his army, he crossed the brook which lay between them about daybreak, and fell upon them by surprise before they had any suspicion that he was in motion. But, notwithstanding the confusion which ensued, their camp was of such extent, that part of their troops had time to form, and afford protection to the rest, who afterwards drew up in their rear; and order being at length restored, they advanced in four lines to meet their opponents. Shaháb u dín, having failed in his original design, now gave orders for a retreat, and continued to retire, keeping up a running fight, until he had drawn his enemies out of their ranks, while he was careful to preserve his own. As soon as he saw them in disorder, he charged them at the head of 12,000 chosen horse, in steel armour; and "this prodigious army once shaken, like a great building, tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins."*

The viceroy of Delhi, and many other chiefs, were slain on the field; and Pritwí Rája, being taken in the pursuit, was put to death in cold blood.

Conquest of Ajmír,

Shaháb u dín was more sanguinary than Mah-

* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. i. p. 177.

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múd. When he took Ajmír, soon after this battle, he put some thousands of the inhabitants, who opposed him, to the sword, reserving the rest for slavery. After this barbarous execution he made over the country to a relation (some say a natural son) of Pritwí Rája, under an engagement for a heavy tribute.

and Delhi.

He then returned to Ghazni, leaving his former slave, Kutb u dín Eibak, who was now rising into notice, and who afterwards mounted the throne, as his representative in India. Kutb u dín followed up his successes with ability, and took possession of Delhi, and of Cóel, between the Jamna and the Ganges.

A. D. 1194, A. H. 591.

Capture of Canouj.

Next year, Shaháb u dín returned to India, defeated Jeia Chandra, the Ráhtór Rája of Canouj, in a battle on the Jamna, north of Etáwa, and took Canouj and Benáres. This victory destroyed one of the greatest Indian monarchies, extended the Mussulman dominions into Behár, and opened the way, which was soon followed up, into Bengal. Notwithstanding its importance, the circumstances of the battle, the taking of the towns, the breaking of idols, and the acquisition of treasures, present so little novelty, that we are left at leisure to notice the capture of a white elephant, and the incident of the body of the rája being recognised by his false teeth, a circumstance which throws some light on the state of manners. An event of great consequence followed these victories, which was the retreat of the greater part of the Ráhtór clan from

Canouj to Márwár, where they founded a principality, now in alliance with the British government. CHAP. IV.

Shaháb u dín having returned to Ghazni, Kutb u dín had to defend the new rája of Ajmír against a pretender; and, after saving his government, he proceeded to Guzerát, and ravaged that rich province.

Next year, Shaháb u dín came back to India, took Biána, west of Agra, and laid siege to the strong fort of Gwáliór, in Bundélcand. It is probable that he was recalled by some attack or alarm in Khorásán, for he left the conduct of the siege of Gwáliór to his generals, and returned, without having performed anything of consequence, to Ghazni. A. D. 1195, A. H. 592.

Gwáliór held out for a long time; and when it was taken, Kutb u dín (who was still governor in India) was obliged to march again to Ajmír. The rája set up by the Mussulmans had been a second time disturbed by his rivals, and protected by Kutb u dín; and he was now exposed to a formidable attack from the rájas of Guzerát and Nagór, supported by the Mérs, a numerous hill tribe near Ajmír. Kutb u dín was overpowered on this occasion, and had difficulty in making his way, covered with wounds, to Ajmír, where he remained, shut up within the walls. Reinforcements, however, were speedily sent from Ghazni; the seige was raised; and, by the time he was suf-

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fficiently recovered to move, he was in a condition to retaliate on his late conquerors. He set out for Guzerát, by the way of Pálí, Nádól, and Siróhí. In the last named district he found two great feudatories of Guzerát, strongly posted on the mountain of A'bu, and in too great force to be left in his rear. He therefore entered the hills, reached and carried their position, and, having dispersed their army, proceeded to Anhalwára. He took and garrisoned that capital; and, after ravaging the province, returned again to Delhi. Next year he took Cálinjer and Calpí, forts in Bundélcand, and appears likewise to have gone against Badáyun, in what is now called Róhilcand.

Conquest of Oud, Behár, and Bengal.

The Ganges, indeed, had long ceased to be an obstacle; and, at this very period, Kutb u dín was waited on by Mohammed Bakhtiár Khilji*, who had already conquered part of Oud and North Behár; and who, on his return to his command, reduced the rest of Behár and Bengal, taking Gour or Laknoutí, the capital of the latter province.†

During these transactions, Shaháb u dín was engaged in contests with the King of Khárizm (who had subverted the government of the Seljúks in Persia, and succeeded to their place as competitors with the Ghórís for the ascendancy in central Asia). He was between Tús and Serakhs, in Khorásán, when he heard of his brother's death,

* Ferishta, vol. i. p. 198.

† Introduction to Bird's History of Guzerat, p. 85.

and returned to Ghazni to take possession of the throne.

A. D. 1202, A. H. 599.

Gheiás u dín appears to have resumed his activity before his death, and to have been present in person in all the campaigns in Khorásán, except this last.*

*Shaháb u dín (or Mohammed) Ghórí.*

Unsuccessful invasion of Khárizm.

As soon as he had arranged his internal government, Shaháb u dín assembled an army, and proceeded to make a decisive attack on Khárizm. He gained a great victory over the king of that country†, besieged him in his capital, and soon reduced him to such straits as to constrain him to sue for aid to the Khitan Tartars. By their assistance he so completely changed the face of affairs, that Shaháb u dín was obliged to burn his baggage, and attempt to draw off towards his own territory. He was so hard pressed on his retreat that he could not avoid an action, and received such a defeat, that it was with difficulty he made his way to Andkhó, half way between Balkh and Herát. At Andkhó he made a stand, and only surrendered on condition

A. D. 1203, A. H. 600.

* De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 265. Ferishta, vol. i. p. 186. D'Herbelot, article "Ghâiathudin." This account is inconsistent with Ferishta (p. 180.), who represents Gheiás u dín as merely retaining the name of king during the last years of his life; but is supported by D'Herbelot and De Guignes, who quote respectable Persian histories, and are better authority on western affairs than Ferishta.

† De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 265.

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of being allowed to depart on payment of a sum of money.

Rebellions in India.

The destruction of Shaháb u dín's army, joined, as it was, at first, to a report of his death, was the signal for general confusion in a great part of his dominions. Ghazni shut her gates against him, though the governor, Táj u dín Eldóz was one of his favourite slaves. Another of his chiefs went straight from the field of battle to Multán, and presenting himself with a feigned commission from the king, occupied the place on his own behalf. The wild tribe of the Gakkars issued from their mountains in the north of the Panjáb, took Láhór, and filled the whole province with havoc and devastation. Kutb u dín remained faithful in India, as did Herát and other western countries, where the governments were held by three nephews of the king's. Shaháb u dín collected some adherents, and first recovered Multán. He then received the submission of Ghazni, and pardoned Eldóz. He afterwards made an attack on the Panjáb, in concert with Kutb u dín, and not only recovered that country, but induced the Gakkars to embrace the Mahometan religion, which was the easier done as they had very little notion of any other. Ferishta mentions that the infidels in the hills east of Ghazni were also converted at this period.*

* It is not improbable that the people of the inaccessible regions, now inhabited by the Jájís and Túrís, may not have been converted till this late period.

Internal tranquillity being restored, Shaháb u dín set off on his return to his western provinces, where he had ordered a large army to be collected, for another expedition to Khárizm. He had only reached the Indus, when, having ordered his tent to be pitched close to the river, that he might enjoy the freshness of the air off the water, his unguarded situation was observed by a band of Gakkars, who had lost relations in the late war, and were watching an opportunity of revenge. At midnight, when the rest of the camp was quiet, they swam the river to the spot where the king's tent was pitched; and entering, unopposed, dispatched him with numerous wounds.

Subdued.

Death of Shaháb u dín.

This event took place on the 2d of Shábán, 602 of the Hijra, or March 14th, 1206. His body was conveyed, in mournful pomp, to Ghazni, accompanied by his vizír and all his principal nobles. It was met by Eldóz, who unbuckled his armour, threw dust on his head, and gave every sign of affliction for the death of his benefactor.

A. D. 1206, A. H. 602.

He left prodigious treasures, and was succeeded by his nephew Mahmúd.

The conquests of Shaháb u dín in India far surpassed those of Sultán Mahmúd, and might have surpassed them in Persia, if the times had been as favourable. Yet, though an enterprising soldier, he had neither the prudence nor the general talents of that great prince, who was a *discoverer* as well as a conqueror, and whose attention was as much devoted to letters as to arms. Accordingly, the

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name of Mahmúd is still one of the most celebrated in Asia, while that of Shaháb u dín is scarcely known beyond the countries over which he ruled.

Extent of his conquests in India.

At his death, Shaháb u dín held, in different degrees of subjection, the whole of Hindostan Proper, except Málwa and some contiguous districts. Sind and Bengal were either entirely subdued, or in rapid course of reduction. On Guzerát he had no hold, except what is implied in the possession of the capital. Much of Hindostan was immediately under his officers, and the rest under dependent, or, at least, tributary princes. The desert and some of the mountains were left independent from neglect.

*Mahmúd Ghóri.*

A. D. 1206, A. H. 602.

Though Mahmúd was proclaimed throughout the whole of his uncle's dominions, and his sovereignty acknowledged by all the officers under it, yet the kingdom broke, at once, into separate states, which were scarcely held together, even in name, by his general supremacy.

Dissolution of the Ghórian empire.

Shaháb u dín, having no son, was fond of bringing up Turkish slaves; and many of his training rose to great eminence. Three of these were in possession of extensive governments at the time of his death. Kutb u dín, in India; Eldóz, at Ghazni; and Násir u dín Kubáchí, in Multán and Sind. Each of these three became really independent on their master's death; and, as the subordinate principality of Bámián was held by a separate

branch of his own family, Mahmúd's actual possession was confined to Ghór, with Herát, Sístán, and the east of Khorásán. His capital was at Fírúz Cóh.

Mahmúd, on his accession, sent the title of king and the insignia of royalty to Kutb u dín to be held under him. He does not appear to have attempted to disturb Eldóz in his possession (although two sons of the prince of Bámián asserted the rights of their family, and for a time expelled Eldóz from Ghazni); but, on the death of Mahmúd, which happened within five or six * years, there was a general civil war throughout all his dominions west of the Indus, and those countries had not recovered their tranquillity when they were all subdued by the kings of Khárizm.

Ghazni was taken by those conquerors in A.D. 1215, and Fírúz Cóh at an earlier period. Many accounts, indeed, represent Mahmúd as having been killed on that occasion. †

* A.D. 1208, A.H. 605 (De Guignes). A.D. 1210, A.H. 607 (Dorn). A.D. 1212, A.H. 609 (D'Herbelot).

† For particulars of Mahmúd's reign and the subsequent confusions, see De Guignes (art. "Kharizme"). D'Herbelot (art. "Mahmoud"), and the history of the house of Ghór, in the annotations on Professor Dorn's "History of the Afgháns."

The Ghóris appear to have recovered from this temporary extinction; for in the beginning of the fourteenth century, less than 100 years after the death of Jenghíz Khán, we find Mohammed Sám Ghóri defending Herát against one of the successors of that conqueror. (D'Ohson, vol. iv. p. 515, &c.); and at a later period, Tamerlane, in his Memoirs, mentions Gheiás u dín, son

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of Aáz (or Móizz) u dín, as ruler of Khorásán, Ghór, and Ghirjistán; and in many places calls him and his father *Ghóris*. (Mulfuzat Timuri, p. 145). Princes of the same dynasty are mentioned in Price, vol. ii., who calls their family Kirit, or Gueret, and all the names mentioned on those occasions are found in a list of Kurt kings, given by Professor Dorn (Annotations, p. 92.), from Jánabi, who says they are asserted to be of the Súr Alghóri.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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